

**SECOND  
ASIAN ECONOMIC SEMINAR  
PYONGYANG**



**OF DELEGATES OF ASIAN ECONOMIC  
BUREAU AND PARTICIPANTS FROM  
ASIA, AFRICA AND OCEANIA**

**Volume Two**

**June 16th to 23rd 1964**



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**Delegates of Asian Economic Bureau and Participants  
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**Published by  
THE ASIAN ECONOMIC BUREAU  
COLOMBO**

**October 1964**

Printed at  
The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd.  
125, Glennie Street, Colombo 2



# SECOND ASIAN ECONOMIC SEMINAR

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## **PART IV**

### **NEO-COLONIALISM AND AFRICAN ECONOMIES**

#### **THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM**

##### **WORKING PAPERS**

###### **FOSSO FRANCOIS (Cameroon)**

Please let me express, on behalf of the People's Union of Cameroon, my warmest gratitude to you comrades-in-arms of Asia for your kind invitation to us to this Economic Seminar. This action of yours is an eloquent proof of your solidarity with the peoples of Africa, who are engaged in a resolute struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Please allow me also to give on behalf of my Party and the entire people of Cameroon, my sincere greetings to the fraternal Korean people, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of Korea headed by the great patriot Kim Il Sung.

We think, the warm and enthusiastic reception given to us by the working people and youth of Korea is an evidence of their sincere solidarity with our people who are fighting for a bright future. We are deeply moved.

The struggle of the Korean people for the country's reunification, for the liberation of their compatriots in the South from the U.S. imperialist domination, to win liberty, prosperity and peace, will be undoubtedly crowned with success.

Friends,

The liberation struggle of the African peoples has made remarkable progress in recent years. At the time of the Bandung Conference of April 1955, there were only five independent states in Africa, i.e. Ethiopia, Liberia, Egypt, Lybia and Sudan, with a total population of less than fifty millions.

Today, as of the end of 1963, around 45 millions of the inhabitants accounting for less than 20 per cent of the entire population of Africa live under the yoke of classic colonialism and the infernal regime of apartheid in the South African Republic. So, today, eight years after Bandung, the minority has been changed into the majority: more than 80 per cent of the Africans are citizens of judicially sovereign countries.

Does this mean that peoples of African have ceased in the main to fight imperialism and colonialism? Does this mean that from now on their chief task is to build up their economy and their national culture? By no means! As ever, it is the foremost task of the African peoples to fight resolutely against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, with the United States of America as their ring-leader. Our Revolution in Africa is in essence a national democratic revolution. To help our brothers in Asia and Latin America and our friends everywhere else better grasp the fundamental character of the present African revolution, I am going to outline the principal characteristics of neo-colonialism in West Africa and the heroic struggle of our people against this contemporary form of domination and exploitation by the imperialists.

### **I. Principal characteristics of neo-colonialism in West-Africa**

The nature of neo-colonialism bears out clearer if you compare it with old colonialism. The latter is a form of direct and total domination of the African countries by imperialist powers. Neo-colonialism, however, is a form of indirect domination, by which the imperialist economically continue to oppress and exploit our countries through the good offices of their agents or their native allies. Ostensibly the country is sovereign: but, in reality, foreign powers continue to exercise the main influence, hiring those whom they have succeeded in bringing to or maintaining in power by means of a series of anti-democratic measures, such as election frauds or direct intervention of armed forces which they defray. In this manner, in Cameroon the French colonialists cooked up the present government bodies and transferred power to them on January 1st 1960 with the support of the French troops occupying our country since 1956 without having any consultation with the people, in advance. Unlike the out-and-out puppet regime of Yaounde, the governments subordinate to neo-colonialism are representative to a certain degree: but their heads are subject to imperialism, because they have blood-relationship with the latter. The typical examples are Nigeria and the Ivory Coast.

Thanks to these agents and native allies the imperialists continue to exploit Africa barbarously. Indeed, in the administrative and political

fields, the nationals of colonial powers continue to occupy the posts of commandship and direction, whether overtly as the holders of these positions or camouflaged as advisors who are invested with the right to veto the initiatives and decisions made by the responsible natives. In this way it is estimated that actually 4,000 French technicians are exercising such directory functions in North Africa and Madagascar.

The control of political and administrative power enables the imperialists to continue also to control the African economy. The best lands, up-to-date plantations and vast forested areas still belong to the firms and colonists of Western Europe and North America. So do the coffee in Madagascar and Cameroon, the bananas in Cameroon and the Ivory Coast, rubber in Cameroon and Liberia, etc. The import-export business, wholesale trades, the banks, the insurance companies, the internal and external long distance transports, the mining industries and the rare industries existing or under construction are all under the grip of large firms owned by the imperialists. As to the circulation of the currency as well as the issue of it and the determination of its value the decision rests with the former colonial powers. Thus the states of the UAM (former French Community) have signed with France agreements, according to which they are obliged to remain in the franc zone and recognize the French veto in the administration councils of their currency-issue institutions and the exclusive right of France to fix the exchange rates between franc and foreign currencies.

Such a concentration of political, economic and financial powers in the hands of the imperialists naturally enables them to direct the policies of many African countries to their advantage. Thus, from the viewpoint of foreign policy, the majority of these states are centered around France (Union of Afro-Malgache), Britain (a number of members of the Commonwealth) or the U.S.A. Each of these Western powers are endeavouring to grab all the foreign trade of these satellites. They force agreements upon these countries which authorize them to take away capital and profits from Africa. Thus, according to the official estimations, 12 per cent of the national income of Cameroon is being transported to Western Europe and North America every year. In the internal affairs, the imperialists control the price and wage policy the investment policy and, naturally the cultural policy, too.

In short, under the regime of neo-colonialism, colonial exploitation is being pursued under the cover of the national flags. Consequently, the masses of the people suffer from very great hardships as ever—

hardships, often so great that it is difficult to satisfy their material and spiritual needs. Thus, at least 85 per cent of the populations can neither read nor write. The sanitary conditions are extremely defective. Infant mortality is as high as 30 per cent as against 4 to 7 per cent in Europe and 10 to 15 per cent in Latin America. The daily alimentary ration per capita reaches 2,400 calories during the harvest seasons, but it decreases to about 1,400 calories in general in the lean seasons to be stabilized subsequently around 1,800 calories.

With the economies dominated by foreign monopolies, how can the natives satisfy their needs when their income remains extremely low? In general annually less than 100 U.S. dollars per capita. While the large masses lie sunk in misery and ignorance, the trusts, and colons, and a handful of natives in their service are getting fat. In Cameroon, for example, Europeans account for less than 0.5 per cent of the population, but they are bagging annually 25 to 30 per cent of the national income. In the North African countries which are under the yoke of neo-colonialism, a Parliamentary deputy gets salary for six months, that is to say, for a month and a half of actual work, as much as what an average African peasant earn in 36 years throughout his toiling life. This contrast between the abject misery of the overwhelming majority of the population and the insolent comfort of a handful of parasites cannot but incur feelings of revolt. One can already hear the peasants saying: "Independence is not for us; it is for the city-dwellers".

The imperialists have always realized, though more or less confusedly, that their dictatorship is not popular. That is why the neo-colonialist regimes as well as those of old colonialists need the support of powerful foreign armed forces and military bases. On the Western Coast of Africa innumerable imperialist military bases infringe on the national sovereignty and terrorize the fighters of many countries, and some of them have been forced even into the strategic apparatus of the aggressive bloc of NATO. Let me cite among others the bases of Dakar, Rufisque, Thies and Saint-Louis in Senegal (France), the American bases of Robertsfields in Liberia, the French Niamey in Nigeria, For-Lamy in Tchad, and those in Cameroon, Ngaoundere, Koutabe and Douala (the port and airfield in the last-cited town have been leased treacherously to the Paris government for a period of 99 years). Almost all of these countries have been subordinated to the imperialist reactionary military treaties, such as those binding Liberia to the United States or the so-called Defence Pact of the Union of Africa and Malagash, which essentially mean the fight against the national-liberation movement. Even those countries which are free



from such aggressive alliances are kept under the control of the Western powers by means of the training and officering of their armies in embryo, through the supply of military equipment and through a number of means of provisioning, deployment and of manoeuvres, etc., by the imperialists troops.

In the face of all this scaring show of armed forces, the African peoples do not allow themselves to be intimidated at all; quite on the contrary, the continuous deterioration of their living conditions, the menace and aggression of the colonialists, old and new, make them resolutely wage their struggles for liberation.

## **II. Actual Situation of the Struggle against neo-colonialism in West-Africa**

Neo-colonialism, quite in the same way as old colonialism, relies essentially on violence exercised by a small privileged minority, in opposition to the overwhelming majority of the people. Consequently, it is inevitable that despite the proclamation of independence, the African peoples revolt and continue their struggle for veritable independence, democracy and social progress. During some months following the proclamation of independence, this struggle showed a certain reflux in most countries. But it can be asserted that in recent years, particularly since 1962, illusion on neo-colonialism is being dispelled and the masses of the people are rallying slowly but resolutely to the assault against neo-colonialism. Struggle is being launched on all fronts and in all countries.

In those still dependent countries such as the Portuguese colonies, the principal objective undoubtedly is overthrowal of old colonialism. However, the most clear-sighted sections of the nationalist leaders of these countries combat argument that neo-colonialism is inevitable and take necessary measures for sparing this painful stage on their way to a complete independence.

Politically independent countries such as Guinea, Mali and Ghana also have to fight against the menace of neo-colonialism. With a view to placing their stooges and agents at the head of these countries the imperialists set everything to work—including armed conspiracies—and make frantic efforts to impede the building of genuinely national, independent and prospering economy. Fortunately the leaders of these countries have hitherto succeeded in frustrating the plots of the imperialists: they have undertaken with great success the decolonization of their economic and social structures, and have laid foundations for subsequent development

of the national economy and culture. In the economic fields, they have nationalized important enterprises belonging to foreign capital, created a state sector which includes foreign trade; they have set up their own banking organizations with their national currencies and exchange control which makes it possible to restrict the outflow of foreign capital.

In the cultural domain, there exists a very strong tendency, already largely triumphant in Guinea and Mali, towards the adaptation of the education programmes to the needs of Africa for setting up in Africa all kinds and levels of education, for the study and development of African languages, for the rehabilitation and regeneration of our own civilization, particularly of our own history and arts.

Inspired by these living examples, the peoples of the countries belonging to the groups of Monrovia (countries of former French Community, Togoland, Liberia, Nigeria and the Leopoldville Congo), unroll their struggle against neo-colonialism, not only on a merely political platform but also by armed revolution.

In the Leopoldville Congo heavy blows are being delivered to the colonial oppressors. At present decisive attacks are being launched under the wise leadership of the National Liberation Council headed by the patriot Mulele. The nationalist organisations of these countries are demanding immediate withdrawal and abolition of foreign troops and military bases, abrogation of military alliances with the NATO powers, respect of democratic and trade-union liberties, Africanization of cadres, well-being of the working peoples, reform and development of education in a direction which is national and popular. . . Some of these objectives have been attained. Thus, all the African countries have begun Africanization of their cadres and their educational system. In Nigeria, the struggle of the popular masses have forced the government to renounce the military pact signed with Britain.

But, in general, the struggle against neo-colonialism still remains very arduous. Because, aware of the fact that their days are numbered, the imperialists are resorting to every means available to protect and consolidate the neo-colonialist regimes.

With a view to securing for themselves an exclusive control of political power, they instigate their stooges to completely suppress democratic and trade-union freedoms, to mercilessly persecute the opponents, to set up reactionary dictatorship of a single Party which is completely in their service. Thus, in Cameroon, President of the Republic Mr. Ahidjo imprisoned his own Minister of Foreign Affairs, his predecessor in

premiership, a number of deputies and a good many other moderate nationalists. And why? Only because these personages were opposed to his project of a single Party. In the Ivory Coast, in Tchad, in Togoland and in Senegal, numerous nationalists have likewise been put in jail on charges of conspiracy against state security. It is one of the chief objectives of all the neo-colonialist regimes to domesticate the trade unions so as to subordinate them to the ruling "Party" and the government. Should the puppet rulers remain unpopular despite all these efforts, the imperialists do not hesitate to replace them when necessary by taking advantage of the popular manifestation, as was the case with Dahomey. On the other hand, the struggle of the masses of the African people makes the competition among the Western powers themselves so acute that they unhesitatingly go to war and even physically liquidate their African agents or allies who try to bring their countries into the orbit of another NATO power. Typical examples are the war of Katanga between the Blue Helmets of the United Nations and the mercenaries of Tshombe or the French participation in the assassination of the Togo President Sylvanus Olympio, confidential servant of the Anglo-Dutch trust UNILEVER.

If the wolves eat one another, it is still more possible for them to devour the lambs. Thus, the French troops reinforced by West German legions and equipped with American arms are openly intervening in Cameroon to quash the armed resistance of the Cameroonian people led by the People's Union of Cameroon.

In his press conference on July 2, 1963 Mr. Ahidjo declared that he allocated 25 per cent of his budget to the counter-revolutionary armed struggle and that he was determined to pursue the dirty war by all means.

In addition to sanguinary violence of various degrees, the imperialists and their lackeys are now ever more employing many other kinds of means against the African people, particularly tricks and lies, corruption and alienation. First of all, they are more eager than ever to present themselves as true friends of the African people. Thus, during the presidency of J.F. Kennedy, the U.S. government formed at the beginning of 1961 a bandit and spy corps to use as a tool for subversion and neo-colonialism in Africa: these pretentious volunteers of peace numbering 2,600 are operating in 16 African countries today.

In the same way the West German revanchists set up a "German Development Service" on June 24, 1963.

With the help of their technicians and their so-called peace corps, their local agents and stooges, their powerful propaganda machine (the press, radio, cinema, "friendly" visits to the Western countries) the imperialists are trying to sow serious ideological confusion throughout Africa. They spread lots of erroneous conceptions on socialism and notably extol what they call African socialism: they spread dangerous illusions about the actual role of the U.N. as a force of liberty, progress and peace, about the so-called necessity of counting on their generosity and their disarmament policy in accelerating our economic development, etc.

At the same time, they have been laying stress in recent years on a policy of concession in the economic field. Thus, they now seem reconciled to see us recover the lands which their trusts and their colonizers had taken away from us. In retail trade and even in semi-wholesale dealing, they grant a larger room to the young African bourgeoisie, and they admit more Africans in the administrative councils of their firms. But this is nothing but a tactic for obtaining a greater number of more reliable collaborators. Their ulterior motives remain precisely the same as ever: to make Africa a source of cheap raw materials, a very profitable market for their industries, a zone of extremely lucrative investments and, of course, military bases. These objectives are clearly manifested in the imperialist policy towards the industrialization and unity of Africa.

The necessity of international competition has impelled them to set up in Africa some important industrial units such as the Edea aluminium factory in Cameroon, the fourth West-Europe-Africa partnership, with a production capacity of 48,000 tons a year. Foreign monopolies, however, have until now developed on the African continent only light industries and mining industry, and the latter in areas as close as possible to the coasts. And besides these, there was, at best, the first-stage processing of minerals to facilitate their transportation at the lowest cost.

In gaining access to African minerals, and particularly its oil, the Americans are already in the land: in West Africa alone, between 1950 and 1960 their private investments increased from 46 million to 290 million dollars. And what it concerns in fact is collective neo-colonialism above all in the economic field. There is an increasing tendency that the Western industrial and financial magnates form international firms for better exploitation of Africa. Thus, the six countries of the European Economic Community welcomed the French proposal for associating the Overseas countries and territories in the Community. This association, accepted already by 18 African states, constitutes a great obstacle to independence,

economic development and unity of Africa. In spite of this undertaking of collective neo-colonialism, the imperialist powers continue, as we have already mentioned, their struggle for zones of influence in Africa. Britain strives to strengthen her ties with the Crown Colonies and the members of the Commonwealth, while France compels their puppets to maintain the Afro-Malagache Union as a "regional organization". Meanwhile, the German imperialists are trying to restore their empire, that is to say, their old colonies such as Togoland, Cameroon, Rwanda-Urundi and Tanganyika.

As for the Americans, they openly announce their sinister designs to realize "a closer alignment of the developing countries". Thus, the Western Powers accept African unity only when it brings profits to them. In other words, each of them is zealously pursuing the "divide and rule policy".

All these struggles between the African peoples and the imperialists and among the imperialists themselves now impart to the national democratic revolution in Africa an extremely complex character, often marked by great fierceness. The revolution is accompanied by many concessions, setbacks, hesitations, rather temporary outbursts, and tactics new to Africa. It is through these difficulties that this continent is forging ahead, painfully but confidently, along the path to the bright summit of liberty, progress and peace.

## Conclusion

It is quite clear that the African peoples have now reached the stage of general offensive against old-time colonialism, while they are still for the most part on the defensive against neo-colonialism. But it is beyond all doubt that they will soon tip the balance of forces in their favour and go over to the counter-offensive. Evidently neo-colonialism, the highest stage of colonial domination, will never enjoy such a long life in Africa as it did in Latin America. And that for several reasons. The international balance of forces is definitely unfavourable to imperialism while it is favourable to the African revolution. Let us silently pass over this great truth to mention, before anything else, some internal factors which lead us to draw the conclusion on the impossibility of making Africa another Latin America.

In the first place the revolutionary forces are more powerful than the counter-revolutionary forces; the social classes which constitute the pillars of neo-colonialism (the feudal system and the upper crust of the

bourgeoisie allied with imperialism) are rather young, and very weak numerically and economically. In Senegal, for example, where social differentiation has reached its zenith, the natives possess only 3 per cent of the enterprises and barely 2 per cent of the turnover. In contrast to this, the forces which the neo-colonialist oppression has coerced into the alternative of uprising or perishing, make up the overwhelming majority of the population: the working class (relatively numerous because it came into being long ago in the foreign enterprises and has grown rapidly thanks to state capitalism), the large peasant masses, the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie in towns. . . . All these forces have become particularly militant in their decisive battle against old-time colonialism.

These forces, moreover, are well aware of who are their friends and who are their enemies, and who know the way to their liberation. The African champions of neo-colonialism continue to sink into ideological, political and economic, sometimes even military, difficulties as in Cameroon, where imperialism could not save those champions. On the contrary, since 1960 when a series of countries won independence, neo-colonialism, its agents, its methods, its military bases, etc., have been constantly denounced in the press and all other kinds of publications, at mass rallies and meetings of African peoples, of the youth, women, peasants, journalists, and even of the government leaders such as the Addis-Ababa Conference. This is how the African methods of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle against neo-colonialism have been forged; this is how the African people are advancing along the road of true and complete liberation. This road, they know, demands more and more of them an unflagging determination, a high, unceasing vigilance against U.S. imperialism, and the formation of a broad anti-imperialist united front, not only on a national scale but also on an all-African and world-wide scale. That is why we appeal to the Asian and African peoples to cement their solidarity and support each other in the common struggle against imperialism, to consolidate and develop the solidarity movement of the Asian and African peoples to support various Afro-Asian activities against imperialism, to consolidate the great solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the struggle against imperialism.

We advocate the unity of the peoples of the whole world and the establishment of a united front in the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression and exploitation, of war and aggression, for safeguarding world peace.

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

I submit this report on behalf of Comrade Osende Afana.

# **ON ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION—THE GHANAIAN EXPERIMENT**

## **WORKING PAPER**

**By KWESI GHAPSON (Ghana)**

It is with much pleasure that I convey, the fraternal greetings of our President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, our Party, that is, the Convention People's Party, our government and the people of Ghana to your heroic leader, Premier Kim Il Sung, the courageous people of the Democratic people's Republic of Korea and the able organisers and participants of this all-important economic seminar. Our President hopes that this seminar will be conducted under the umbrella of friendship, Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace. He is equally optimistic that the outcome of our deliberations will further the destruction of imperialism and colonialism and the weakening of neo-colonialism. He, therefore, wishes the seminar a maximum success.

To us from Africa, this seminar itself is of special significance because it demonstrates your willingness to share with us your rich experiences and your aspirations, your problems and your successes. This is not unexpected because the two great continents of ours have come under one form of imperialism and colonialism or other; but in content it has always been the same, that is, the exploitation of the colonised people. Secondly, as developing countries, we have a lot of experiences to share to our mutual benefit. In this sense, you are reasonably ahead of us and we therefore, come to you with the attitude of a student. Thirdly, in our bid to raise the living standards of our peoples and thereby eliminate all forms of neo-colonialism, under the banner of socialism, we are on the same side of the barricade with you. It is upon these unifying forces that I attempt a brief sketch of the economy of Ghana in particular and Africa in general.

Ghana, as you may be aware, is located on the west coast of Africa with an area of 92,100 sq. miles and a population of 6,726,815. She has tropical climate and is rich in mineral resources such as gold (hence formerly called the Gold Coast by the imperialists), diamond, manganese and bauxite. Others are silver, salt, iron ore and limestone which are

in the process of exploitation. In the field of primary product, she is rich in cocoa, coffee, oil palm, timber, coconuts, bananas and rubber. Of the main foodstuff, she has maize, rice, cassava, plantain, groundnuts, yam, millet and cocoyam. These rich resources, naturally, will attract the greedy and all embracing hands of imperialism and colonialism.

To recount the miseries and evils wrought by colonialism is to repeat sad memories. However, a brief historical sketch is necessary for a better understanding of our discussions. With the discovery of North America and the beginnings of sugar plantations, imperialism discovered that African labour was the only suitable one for the maximum exploitation of their plantations. To Africa, therefore, they came; and that was the beginnings of the infamous slave trade. The result was to deprive Africa of her most precious possession, that is, human resources. Modern history points out that for a period of about four hundred years not less than 50 million Africans were shipped to the Americas. The humiliation they suffered has no parallel in the history of mankind. There was no white man we could rule out as not having a hand in it. Even the Pope gave it his blessing. The Afro-American problem of today with its police dogs and water-hose takes its origin from that period.

To continue, the discovery of gold brought imperialism to Africa again. Further, with the genesis of 18th century industrial revolution in Europe, the capitalists had to find sources of raw materials for their factories and markets for their finished products. They had no other place to turn to but to Africa and Asia for more exploitation. In order therefore to consolidate their hold on us, the capitalists gave birth to imperialism and colonialism. By the 1884 Berlin Conference, the partitioning of Africa was completed; from then till the end of the second world war, Africa and Asia were to see the true nature of imperialism and colonialism.

What was the net result? Briefly put, our economies were so manipulated that we Africans became agricultural countries solely for the purpose of supplying the capitalists with raw materials. They discouraged our way of farming in order to obtain the correct raw materials for their factories. The result was that many countries ended up in producing single main crops. Classic examples were the Gold Coast who produced cocoa, Ceylon who produced tea, Liberia and the East Indies who produced rubber and Gambia who produced peanuts or groundnuts. At the same time they controlled the sale of the raw materials. It was more or less the slave and master relationship. That is, we had to take whatever price



they offered. Whenever we resisted, we were brought to our heels and in some cases were thrown into imperialist prisons at gun point. The point which I am making here is supported by the history of Indonesia, China, Korea, India, Kenya and Ghana. Probably, a living testimony to our point is what is happening in Angola and Mozambique today.

Besides, Africans were given the kind of education which could easily serve imperialist interests, that is, to make us interpreters and to help us carry on simple calculations and do the odd jobs. Those Africans who showed signs of knowing too much of their exploitation were either bought over as pseudo-Europeans or evoked, where this failed, they were killed or disgraced by some imagined charges. The address on neo-colonialism during this Seminar confirm this point. In the wake of this was cultural imperialism. In order to kill the personality or the spirit of the colonized people, the colonialists made us feel that everything African was inferior. We were educated to look down upon our culture such as our type of food, our dresses, songs, dances, festivals. This was supplanted by their way of life. The cultural imperialism invariably had an economic motive because the more we took to their way of living, the more they imported their goods to satisfy our newly acquired habits. This ultimately meant the enrichment of their economies and the impoverishment of ours.

Further, their sinister designs, the governments of the colonies were managed and controlled by the imperialists. Those who were lucky to be nominated to serve in the colonial legislatures were always their lackeys. In short, they so managed every aspect of our lives that the African in a British colony felt more at home in London than in Accra or Nairobi, the African in a French colony felt more at home in Paris than in Bamako or Abidjan and the African from a Portuguese colony felt more at home in Lisbon than in Luanda. However, this has been reversed to a large extent because of the courageous fight by many Afro-Asian political leaders.

Now, Mr. Chairman, with this background, I would now restrict myself to the economy of Ghana so as to give a concrete contribution. During the struggle for Ghana's political independence, particularly from 1948, our leader, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah came to inherit an economic structure which was not in the interest of our people. But since his assumption of office from 1951, he has indeed proved himself to be a leader who has the welfare and the well-being of his people at heart. I shall present to you a few examples as indicators of progress between 1951-1961:

- (a) In education, student population at all levels increased from 154,360 to 481,500, an increase of 211.9 per cent. Education has been made free at the elementary and university levels.
- (b) The working population increased from 6,400 to 26,500, an increase of 314 per cent.
- (c) In health, the number of doctors (including dentists) increased from 156 to 500, an increase of 220.5 per cent.
- (d) In transportation, roads, Class I (Bitumen) increased from 1,398 to 2,050 miles, an increase of 46.7 per cent.
- (e) The number of people served by pipe-born water increased from 986,000 to 2,416,100, an increase of 119.7 per cent.

Though Ghana has one of the highest living standards in Africa, yet our socialistic government realizes that we cannot be satisfied until our resources, human and material are so developed to eliminate all forms of poverty and want and to enable our people to develop their cultural, mental and spiritual values to the full. The period between 1951 to 1959, therefore, saw two plans, the First and Consolidated Plans. The Ghana Government had to use these two plans to prepare the grounds for a more comprehensive plan which when implemented would transform Ghana into a socialist state. This plan is known as the Ghana Seven-Year Development Plan or Work for Happiness programme which was launched in Accra, Ghana, last February.

What is the Plan? Our State Planning Commission points out that the Plan is essentially a programme of how our country's economy is to be developed during the plan period from its present state. Further, Ghana needs such a plan because socialism connotes a planned economy. The Seven-Year Development Plan, therefore, sets out to achieve the following main goals.

- (a) To speed up the rate of growth of our national economy. This means increased productivity.
- (b) To enable us to embark upon the socialist transformation of our economy through the rapid expansion and development of the state and co-operative sectors of our economy.
- (c) To eradicate completely the colonial structure of our economy and
- (d) Above all to use it as a basis for the achievement of a genuine continental political Union of Africa.

The next result is what our leader stated in his forward to the outline of the Plan. He pointed out, "our aim is to establish in Ghana a strong and progressive society in which no one will have any anxiety about the basic means of life, about work, food and shelter; where poverty and illiteracy no longer exist and disease is brought under control; and where our educational facilities provide all the children of Ghana with the best possible opportunities for the development of their potentialities". In order, therefore, to achieve these objectives in this First Seven-Year Development Plan, the economic aspect of the plan has two main tasks to accomplish, to revolutionise our agriculture and industry.

Let us first consider our agriculture, for Ghana is primarily an agricultural country. For example, cocoa is the most substantial source of our national income. (Further, Ghana is the leading cocoa producer in the world). For instance, six, out of every ten working Ghananians, are employed in agriculture and more than half of our national income is derived from agriculture. The picture is made more vivid if compared with some of the industrialized countries of the world. For instance, India had 7 out of every 10 on the land, Japan about 4, Denmark 2.5, U.S.A. 1, and United Kingdom 5 in 1960. From the above, we can infer that the more industrialized the country, the smaller the proportion of the working population engaged in agriculture. The reason is that by raising the productivity of agriculture, using better methods such as stockbreeding, seri-culture, use of tractors, lorries, fertilizers and rotation of crops a much higher output can be achieved.

In order, therefore, to provide other forms of work as a result of mechanized or better methods of agriculture, we have to expand and increase the number of industries. One, therefore, sees that while there are attempts to transform agriculture, there must be equal attempts to expand and establish industries so as to absorb the people released from the agricultural sector.

Before I leave agriculture, let me give you a picture of our food imports. Though we are an agricultural country, our food imports alone from 1954 to 1962 rose from £7.3 million to £14.7, the highest point of £18.2 million was reached in 1961. This shows how Ghana loses a great part of her hard-earned foreign currency. Is it not shocking for a purely agricultural country to be importing such an amount of food? Thanks to the evils of colonialism! In order, therefore, to offset this and provide more food and at reasonable prices, better farming methods must be

applied. But before then we must find the cause for low productivity. In Ghana the causes of low productivity have been attributed to the following:

- (a) It has been found that often the farmer works too small an area.
- (b) In some parts of our country, seasonal scarcity of water limits production.
- (c) The seeds and animal available are often of poor quality.
- (d) Agricultural credit is not readily available. Where credit is available, the money lender charges a high, unreasonable interest. The farmer is, therefore, at a disadvantage.
- (e) Poor distribution and marketing system has been found to be another drawback.
- (f) The difficulty in convincing some farmers to adopt rotation of crops in place of shifting cultivation is another problem.
- (g) Poor method of preservation, that is, the problem involved in canning surplus fish, tomatoes, pine-apples etc.
- (h) Many farmers themselves are ill-nourished. There is, therefore, constant ill-health which in turn reduces productivity, and
- (i) Above all, the deliberate policy of the imperialists to keep us, perpetually, a poor agricultural country.

*The tasks of the Seven-Year Plan.*—Better methods based on scientific and technological research are to be increased and developed. For example, there is a cocoa research Institute which is actively examining how best cocoa disease could be controlled and the yield increased. There are also agricultural research centres controlled by our state-farms and the Universities whose duties are to find solutions to agricultural problems. The government has started encouraging private farmers to become members of co-operative societies so as to have access to modern machinery and techniques which would be beyond their individual resources. The farmers have been responding by forming producers co-operatives under the leadership of Ghana United Farmers Council. Besides, there is Central Co-operative Council which seeks to unite the small farmers in each field of agriculture. State farms, the agricultural wing of the Workers Brigade and the Young Farmers League have already demonstrated the benefits to be derived from co-operative and large scale farming.

The government is doing all it can to irrigate areas where water is not adequate. The Happy Valley Irrigation Project near Bolgatanga in the Upper Region of the country is an example. Further, with the Volta

River Project coming to fruition soon, this problem of inadequate water will be finally solved. The government has established a National Food Marketing Board aside from the Cocoa Marketing Board to help in the distribution and marketing of agricultural products. The Bank of Ghana with the newly established National Investment Bank has evolved a system of agricultural credit, using the facilities of our national Commercial Bank. To show you how seriously our government is tackling the agricultural programme, I shall present to you sums of money allocated for agriculture. In this field, the government has allocated £67 million of which £12 million will be purposely used for the improvement of fishing. The Government intends also to encourage private farmers to invest the sum of £110 million in their farms. All these efforts are geared towards solving the food problem, that is, providing abundance for local consumption and export in order to increase our foreign currency reserves which, in turn, would be used to buy raw materials whenever necessary to feed our industries.

*The task in Industry.*—From this analysis, we have seen the major role which agriculture has played. At present, industry makes a relatively small contribution to the national income of Ghana. The relative small contribution by the industrial sector is in itself mainly derived from small-scale establishments employing mostly family labour and using little capital or equipment. The industrial statistics of 1959 gives 433 industrial establishments, having six or more paid employees in the fields of mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction and electricity, gas and steam. The gross value of the sales of these establishments amounted to around £G60 million. Total wage bill for the 99,000 persons employed amounted to £G18 million, which results in £G180 per paid employee annually.

Of Ghana's large-scale industry, the largest is still held by mining and construction. Each of these contributed 35% of the net output in all industries in 1959. The mining and construction industries were mainly in the hands of foreign companies. However, since 1960, they are increasingly coming under the public sector. We now have a State Mining Corporation as well as a National Construction Corporation which undertakes virtually all the major constructional projects of the Government.

However, during the plan period the Government intends to develop the large-scale industrial sector considerably by

- (a) Setting up industries wherever practicable which will provide domestic substitutes for the manufactured staples of consumer demand, the supply of which has hitherto come through importation.

An example of such a new industry will be a sugar factory at Akuse in the Eastern region of the country.

- (b) Processing wherever economically feasible, those agricultural and mining commodities that are now exported as primary products such as cocoa, timber and gold. Examples of such new industries is the chocolate factory at Takoradi and the Aluminium smelter to be built at Akosombo to process bauxite at completion of the Volta River Project.
- (c) Setting up industries to provide materials for the building industry, in order to conserve foreign exchange and to lower costs of construction. Examples of these are a cement factory and an Asbestos Plant.
- (d) Setting up, where appropriate basic industries in the fields of metals and chemicals. Examples of these are a Gold Refinery at Tarkwa in the Western part of the country and a Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant.
- (e) Starting the development of other basic industries which will form part of the industrialization scheme in subsequent plans.
- (f) Planning industrial development in harmony with the development of other African countries.

A typical example of such giant projects which will transform the economy of Ghana is the Volta River Project estimated at £G309 million. Let us see if we can visualise the magnitude of the scheme. At present, the electrical capacity of Ghana is 123 MV. Initially, the Volta River Project will provide 883 MV and at peak 1,000 MV. This will provide Ghana by 1970 with cheap electricity with extra for our neighbouring sister African countries. An artificial lake from the project will provide fishing, irrigation and water-transportation facilities. In short, the attempt is to provide all amenities that Ghana needs and can produce by herself so as to be less dependent on foreign countries. For instance, of total imports in 1962, 42% was in the form of food, drinks, tobacco, textiles, clothing and other consumption goods. These are a drain on the country's resources. And the cost was nearly £G50 million. Therefore, the more

industries that can be set up and owned by the State of Ghana and successfully produce substitutes for these goods, the more money will be available to import raw materials and equipment which are not yet locally available.

*Social Service.*—Ghana plans to allot 14% of the total sum for the Plan to education. The Plan hopes to increase the present primary school population of 1,200,000 to 2,200,000. This is an increase of nearly 100%. Secondary education will be from 23,000 to 78,000, that is, an increase of 307%; and will be fee-free; the same percentage of increase is expected from teacher training colleges, and 150% in University students. Since 1961, the Universities of Ghana have increased from one to three and the government hopes to create more by the end of the Plan period. The period of formal schooling has been reduced from 18 to 15. This means that one can take 15 years from the elementary school to the University instead of 18 years; and £G64 million has been allocated for education under the scheme.

In respect of health, the Plan envisages roughly 1 doctor for every 10,000 people as against 15,000 now. Side by side, communication, housing and other allied projects will be expanded and increased. This, however, gives a broad outline of the aims and objectives of the Plan.

We will now turn to our trade so as to show the present trend of our international trade. Before independence, one finds on analysis, that our chief customers were the United Kingdom, United States of America and some other Western countries. However, one finds now that trade between Ghana and the socialist countries is increasing from year to year. We were therefore happy to hear on our arrival in Peking that a Ghanaian Trade Delegation had just left the People's Republic of China, after concluding a Trade Pact. Thanks to Ghana's policy of positive neutrality based on the principles of Bandung, in February next year Ghana will hold for the first time an International Trade Fair in Accra. We hope your countries will be represented at the Fair.

*Financing the Plan.*—The total expenditure for the Plan is estimated at £G1,016 million of which government alone will contribute £476 million. The private sector comprising private Ghanaian investors, local authorities, co-operatives and private foreign investors are expected to invest about £G440 million. It is hoped also that £G100 million worth of direct labour (self-help projects) in the construction of buildings, in community developments and in the extension of farms will be contributed. Yearly investment will therefore be about £G130 million. The

break up of the respective role of the five sectors of our economic development is as follows. One can observe that the Public Sector will undertake the bulk of the developments. Next in line is the co-operative sector. Foreign private concerns shall play a role but this will be in an ever decreasing manner because the ultimate aim of our government is to socialize the factors of production as much as possible. Ghanaian private sector will persist and will continue so long as they serve the social purposes of the people. For example, quite recently, a private Ghanaian Fishing-Enterprise (Ocean Enterprise) has been encouraged to enter the co-operative sector of our economy in order to serve the social ends of the people. Before I conclude with this section, I would like to point out that the Central Bank of Ghana has an exchange control scheme which aims at controlling and regulating her fiscal and monetary relationship with other countries.

*Possible Dangers in Financing.*—It is often said that he who pays the piper calls the tune. This is very true with the subtle tactics of neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism, as you all know, uses the most effective and clandestine ways in “re-colonizing” a country. After granting formal independence to a former colony and leaving by the front door, the imperialist returns by the back door, and strangles the latter’s economy through economic, social and cultural pacts or agreement ‘aids’, etc. This subtle means of re-establishing itself may be termed neo-colonialism. Of these forms, I shall restrict myself to the economic one for the purpose of our discussion. The first step the imperialists take is to ensure that puppets are put in office at the time of granting independence so that they can control the particular former colony from behind the screen. Comrades, take a glance through Africa, and Asia and you will find many examples. If this step fails the neo-colonialists adopt the next one by which, in signing a trade pact, they make sure that they would be able to control the strategic industries of the former colony. They may also charge an interest of such a high rate that by the time of payment of the borrowed amount, the country concerned finds herself more than ordinarily indebted to the colonialists. Or they may come in as technical advisors or experts and use this fraudulent position to sabotage developments of the former colony. They may even go into partnership with some of the native businessmen and use them as a facade to make inroads into the economy. Above all, their last weapon in this field is to bribe a few disgruntled politicians or citizens to create civil strife. In such a



confusion, the imperialists come back to re-establish themselves. Congo and Latin America provide classic examples of neo-colonialist intrigues. And in all these, the hand-in-the-glove manipulator is U.S. imperialism.

A few points more examples and I shall be through. For instance, here is the tendency for some unscrupulous local politicians to use this development period to line up their pockets with state funds. This may come about when they are entrusted by their governments to sign contracts with foreign concerns, that is the imperialists. This increases the cost of the project and the increased cost is borne ultimately by the taxpayer. One disturbing fact about such deals is that the bribes are invariably invested outside the country. Thirdly, there may be misuse of the resources of the country either through ignorance or sabotage. Above all, the greatest enemy to the reconstruction of the economy of any country is where the mass of the population shows indifference. These are some of the immediate dangers to be arrested.

Ghana is aware of these and is taking the following measures to reduce, if not completely eliminate them. To the first danger, the government of Ghana is to ensure that no strategic industry should be in the hands of foreign interests. This means that transportation and communication, education, marketing and public utilities must always be in the public sector. Where some industries such as mining are in the hands of foreign companies, the government has ensured that there will be no means of using that to sabotage our development. The government of Ghana will not hesitate to bring such industries into the public sector if it is in the public interest; and in the event of that fair compensation will be paid.

The most important policy of the Ghana government in financing the Plan is to raise as much money as it can locally. This means relying on the resources of Ghana as much as possible. However, since we cannot raise all the required sum from Ghana, the government has devised ways and means of ensuring that foreign borrowing will not defeat our programme. The first is the setting up of boards to scrutinise every contract before it is awarded and is subject to periodic re-examination so as to arrest fraudulent practices at every stage of the project.

Secondly, the government has appealed to the citizens to save in order to help finance the various projects. Those who have monies abroad have been encouraged to repatriate them and bearer bonds with attractive interest have been issued. To eliminate apathy, the government has launched a massive campaign through rallies, cinemas, exhibitions,

lectures, debates and demonstrations to educate the broad masses as to their respective roles and the benefits to be derived from the Plan. Besides these, emphasis has been placed on self-help projects, that is, building of rural pipe-borne water supplies, feeder roads, schools blocks, health centres through direct labour; and the government expects that £G100 million worth of projects will be undertaken through this method.

The government is educating the people to close their ranks and pool their resources to make the Plan a success. With their spontaneous unity as expressed during the last referendum, Ghana has declared herself a democratic one party state. Apart from the benefits to be derived from the united front, it would ward off neo-colonialist infiltration. All these measures are being adopted by our government to ensure economic emancipation based on the principle of self-reliance. The reason is that no nation can feel herself truly politically independent if it is economically dependent upon another country. Latin American countries are examples of countries which are not truly independent because they rely virtually on U.S. to balance their budgets. There are many examples to be found in Africa too. Take a glance and you will see them multiplying.

Above all, the need for sincere, honest and popular leadership cannot be over-emphasized. If we have dishonest and unpopular leaders, we may not only fail to achieve our economic goals, but may also throw our countries into violent revolutions to the advantage of the imperialists. In this respect, Ghana is fortunate to have a great, selfless, popular and disinterested leader in the person of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

Back to the African scene, we may find that the economic development of our respective states cannot achieve any appreciable results if we restrict our planning to our countries alone. The reasons are not far to seek. The first point is the uneven distribution of the natural resources of the world. For instance, while Ghana may be rich in gold and cocoa, Nigeria may be richer in tin. Or while Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) may be rich in copper, U.A.R. may be richer in cotton. Examples multiply as we examine the natural resources of Africa. Do you not think that we could achieve greater results if our economies were planned on a continental basis? The point I am making here can be clearly understood if we examine for instance our present system of communication in Africa. All our communications point outwards and not inwards. For instance, an air trip from Accra to Nairobi has to pass through Kano, Khartoum and Addis Ababa before reaching Nairobi. What a winding route! A cable from Conakry to Accra has to go to Paris to be re-routed through

London before reaching Accra! Can we not solve this problem by having a rationalized continental communication system? Even the arbitrary division of Africa presses us to come together to solve the frequent border incidents of Africa today. Yesterday, it was Algeria and Morocco. Today, it is Ethiopia and Kenya. Who knows who will be the next in Africa?

If we consider also the prices paid by the imperialists for our primary produce, it is imperative for us to find a solution to this. We cannot do better than by a united action. Further, the exploitative, divisive, and expansionist policies of the imperialists and neo-colonialists compel us to come together to ward off their machinations. Above all, the rich experiences of the People's Republic of China make it our bounden duty to unite. But what kind of unity should we advocate or seek. Some have advanced arguments for economic union to be realized in an African Common Market. Others have advocated a type of cultural union, through the exchange of students, travels, festivals, etc. But do you think such forms of union would be effective to ward off or thwart the evils of neo-colonialism? I think otherwise; for no effective union between countries has ever been achieved through such a process. Even the attempts of some Western European countries to achieve an effective union through the European Common Market have failed. The *ONLY* form of union which will bring unlimited benefits to Africa and co-operation with Asia is a Continental Political Union as advanced coherently by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his book *Africa Must Unite*. If you have doubts you may take the living examples of China which has proved successful with a population of 650 millions. With political unity as the broad base, we can better plan economically, socially and culturally, hence, "seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added unto it".

Turning finally to Afro-Asian solidarity one does not have to repeat the reasons why the two continents must come together. As I have pointed out earlier, our common experiences under colonialism, our common experiences as developing countries and our joint efforts to build socialism on the ruins of imperialism and neo-colonialism enjoin us to meet periodically to reassess the strength and the new tactics of our common enemy and to find new ways and means of defeating it. However, we in Africa cannot fully contribute to such discussions if in Africa itself we are not united. To talk of united efforts and self-reliance here in Pyongyang without unity and a sense of self-reliance at home defeats the adage, "Charity begins at home".

Nevertheless, such gatherings give us the opportunity to see the magnitude of our problems and the need to redouble our efforts to resolve them. To the initiators of this Seminar, we say thank you. You have demonstrated sufficiently your genuine love for the peoples of Africa. You did not only invite us to share your experiences but also accorded us full rights as delegates. Apart from this, we thank you for your foresight in choosing Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Korea as the venue for the Seminar. The success of our brother Koreans has proved to us that no amount of bullets, bombs and other forms of inhumanity can kill the spirit of a people with a right cause. We congratulate you and salute you for your impregnable stand against U.S. imperialism. You have been a source of inspiration to us who are still partly for economic independence. We are on the same side of the fence with you in your struggle to re-unite with your brothers and sisters in the South. The same goes for our brothers and sisters in Vietnam. We would like to point out that China today is a reality and no one can wish it away.

To our African brothers, I say thank you for your co-operation and the honour done us in selecting Ghana to serve on the Presidium. I hope we shall all leave the Conference Hall more inspired and with renewed vigour to usher in socialism based on the dignity of man, equality of man and the principles of self-determination and self-reliance.

Down with imperialism and all forms of neo-colonialism.

Long live the Courageous People of Korea.

Long live the Bandung Principles.

Long live Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Long live Socialism and World Peace.

# **CONTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION COUNCIL OF CONGO LEOPOLDVILLE TO THE ECONOMIC SEMINAR**

## **ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM**

**SINGAMA LUVILA (Congo Leopoldville)**

To survey this question, we quote from the Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties of November 1960 which gives a clear definition of the problem. In Part IV the Statement says:

"The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the U.S.A. make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid", drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there. The imperialists endeavour to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly-free countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations, to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of "inter-dependence" to put their puppets in power in these countries and bribe a section of the bourgeoisie.

The Statement goes on to say: "The urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nation united in a single national-democratic front".

This analysis clearly summarizes the chief aspects of the problem of neo-colonialism, and matters stand the same with our country, the Congo, and other Afro-Asian countries as well as the Latin American.

The National-Liberation Council of the Congo adheres to this analysis and substantiates it not only by rallying all the national forces that are aware of the urgent need of radical changes in the social structure, but also by fighting against imperialism led by the United States, and by answering the puppets, which are temporarily installed in power, and their American masters in the only language at their disposal: armed revolutionary struggle. Our country is proving in practice the correctness of the principles set forth in the Statement which I have quoted above, for our country has recently become a typical example in which neo-colonialism of the meanest sort is overtly active. And the N.L.C. is waging a righteous struggle without compromising with U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

### 1. Geographical data

Situated in the heart of Central Africa, the Congo stretches across the Equator, between lat. 5.20' North and 13.28' South. This geographical situation of the country in the centre of the continent will enable you to evaluate the seriousness of what is going on in the Congo, particularly for the African countries. The armed struggle of the N.L.C. for a solution of the issue, therefore, expresses the hopes of many Asian and African countries which are faced with the same monsters, namely, U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

The Congo is bounded:

#### *A. On the west and north by*

- the Atlantic Ocean for 40 kilometres
- the brother country of Congo Brazzaville
- the Republic of Central Africa
- the Republic of Sudan.

#### *B. On the east and south by*

- Uganda
- Tanganyika
- Rhodesia under the domination of the racists Wilensky and his clique
- Angola under the Portuguese domination.

As you see, all our frontiers adjoin theatres where the irresistible wind of national-liberation is blowing.

Naturally, the Congo, situated in the heart of this region, feels all its convulsions of the particularly amplified pulsations.

Our country with an area of 2,345,000 square kilometres has a population of 14,125,000 (according to the census of December 31, 1958), or 5 persons per square kilometre. Such a low density of population is due among other things to the colonialist ravages, slave trade, forced labour and repression, the victims of which are innumerable, as seen today. This vast but thinly populated country was placed under the mandate of Belgium, which is 80 times smaller than the Congo, by the Berlin Conference of imperialists in 1885. For 84 years since then we have been fettered to the most ignoble kind of colonialist yoke.

Our people cast away this yoke on June 30, 1960 after heroic struggles under the leadership of Premier Patrice LUMUMBA. With their successive conspiracies the U.S.-led imperialists wanted to perpetuate this yoke in the Congo by a neo-colonialist method which was disclosed at the time of the secession of Katanga and shameful assassination of Patrice LUMUMBA and his companions. It is against this yoke that the national conscience of the Congo has now risen under the leadership of the N.L.C. Our struggle is difficult because the imperialist interests in our country are very momentous. But it only augments our determination to do away with the U.S. imperialists and their stooges in our country as soon as possible, and that with the active support of our friends.

## 2. Economic Data

The geologists say that our country is a veritable "geological scandal".

The immense mineral resources are not exclusive to the Province of Katanga, and our country abounds in other kinds of natural riches, and these riches have been explored to this day only for the profits of the imperialist sharks.

### A. *Agricultural Resources*

1. *Food produce.*—Manioc, maize, sorghum, millet, rice, bananas, potatoes, peas, haricot bean, soya, peanut, the annual export of peanut being 5,715 tons in 1945, 5,080 tons in 1946-1949 and 5,442 tons in 1950.

#### 1. *Arborescent substance*

- (a) *Rubber.*—Cultivation of rubber subjected us to incredibly exacting forced labour. Whole villages were evacuated for

extended rubber plantations which served the war efforts of the Allies between 1939 and 1945.

1941	..	..	..	97 tons exported
1942	..	..	..	322 tons exported
1943	..	..	..	7,000 tons exported
1944	..	..	..	11,250 tons exported

Since 1949 the U.S.A. and Belgium have absorbed all the output of rubber in our country.

- (b) *Copal*.—Our country is the largest producer of copal, gum indispensable for the manufacture of lac and varnish which have various industrial and military uses.

In 1950 the Congo exported 6,392 tons to Britain, 3,709 tons to Belgium and 3,094 tons to the United States.

- (c) *Timber*.—Under inhuman conditions our people, through forced labour, had to supply the imperialist powers with such timber indispensable for making furniture, casings of tools and for hydraulic works as mahogany, ebony, limb, kambala, iroko, etc.

Between 1950 and 1951 135,651 tons of timber were exported to:

- Belgium
- Britain
- South Africa of Vervoerd the Devil
- the United States.

- (d) *Tropical products*:

- sugar cane: to feed the refineries in Belgium
- pepper: 32,750 kilogrammes exported in 1950
- quinquina
- aromatic plants (geranium, eucalyptus, etc.).

In 1950 147 tons were exported to:

- Belgium
- France
- United States
- insecticides
- cacao, coffee, tea, tobacco, kapok, rappia, jute, agave sisal, flax, cotton
- oil-bearing crops: sesame, copra, castor bean, cabbage-palm
- animal resources, among them ivory.



As the statistics show, all these abundant resources are plundered by Belgium, France, West Germany, South Africa of the racist Vervoerd, Britain and, above all, by the United States.

Here we see the ringleader of imperialism and his accomplices are hatching plots to derail the liberation struggles in order to deprive them of their revolutionary contents.

The survey of the mineral resources shows still more clearly the responsibility of the imperialists for the conspiracies hatched here and there in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

### *B. Mineral Resources*

The imperialist themselves know that the mineral wealth of the Congo is enormous.

- *Gold*.—11,000 kilogrammes of gold were produced in 1951 chiefly to the profit of the trust FORMINIERS.
- *Coarse diamond*.—10.3 million carats were produced in 1951 for the trust Diamond Trading Company in London.
- *Tin ore*.—the fourth produce next to Malaysia, Bolivia, Indonesia.
- *Tantalum and wolfram*.—respectively 95 and 396 tons were produced in 1951.
- *Copper*.—300,700 tons were produced in 1960, next to the United States, Chile and Rhodesia.
- *Uranium*.—100 tons shipped to New York during the wartime to be used in the manufacture of the lethal weapons which were dropped by U.S. imperialism on Hiroshima.
- *Cobalt*.—8,240 tons were produced in 1960 to top the world list. This list is very limited and does not mention such and rare precious minerals as vanadium, tungsten, germanium, actinium, lithenium and beryllium.

The neo-colonialists are manoeuvring to keep this country under the yoke of exploitation, a country whose immense natural riches are squeezed out by colonialism. Those who benefit by these riches are teaming up to save their property and narrow down the scope of renovations demanded by the national-liberation movement. The 1960 Statement says: "The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting".

How can it be otherwise when we know that those who get profits from their systematic plunder of our countries are thinking of restoring the status quo ante or of limiting or altering, at all events, the scope of renovations to abide by their colonial exploitation.

*C. Those who benefit by Colonial Oppression*

The whole history of our country turns around an abbreviation that has the sounding of international financiers: U.M.H.K.: UNION MINIERE DU HAUT KATANGA.

It is a veritable empire in an empire. That concessions of the Union Miniere occupy 34,000 square kilometres, an area bigger than the whole Belgium.

The Union Miniere is a branch of a financial group that controls mineral resources, the press organs of the entire Africa south of Sahara, a bastion of racism and monopoly capitalism.

Here is a list of the merry company with whom the Union Miniere dances a boisterous dance of milliards of dollars of dealings to the detriment of the African peoples:

- Tanganyika Concessions Limited
- British South Africa Company
- South African Anglo-American Corporation
- De Beers Consolidated Mines
- Rhodesian Anglo-American
- Rhokana Corporation
- Chibuluna Mines
- Roan Antelope Copper Mines
- Rhodesian Selection Trust
- American Metal Climax Incorporated
- Societe Generale Belgique
- Myfulina Copper Mines

The formation of this syndicate of the plunderers of our riches once again confirms our conviction that the United States is indeed the chief enemy of our people. The United States has been and is entirely responsible for the disorganization and degradation of our country. Let me remind you that at the time of the tragic events in Katanga they organized an unsavoury "American Committee for aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters" in which such personalities as Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater and the habitual fauna of the Rearmament Moral and the John Birch Society are partners.

It is in financial complicity with the U.S. that the assassins called "Horribles" were recruited. It is also in flagrant complicity with the U.S. that the operations of repression are now conducted by the U.N. forces against the fighting patriots with the U.S. diplomatic personnel in the Congo publicly accompany the forces of repression.

It is certainly not because they cherish exceptional affections for the negroes of the Congo that the United States, the mainstay of racism, is supplying the puppets of Leopoldville and the criminal operations of the U.N. with dollars and weapons.

The imperialists are sticking to their exorbitant privileges and are determined to impede by all means the necessary historical changes. Their privileges are enormous.

Here are some figures made public by the Banquet Centrale on the profits of the Union Minière:

Registered capital	..	..	..	6,000,000\$
Immobilized revaluation (4/12/47)			..	24,000,000\$
Premium on stock emission (10/12/46)			..	12,000,000\$
Miscellaneous .. .. .	..	..	..	60,000,000\$
CAPITAL .. .. .	..	..	..	102,000,000\$

This shows that in the fiscal 1959 they got a profit of 88,000,000 dollars, or more than 60 per cent of the capital.

At the height of the Congolese crisis, the U.M.H.K. issued triumphant communiques to announce the growth of production which was achieved at the grimmest moments of the crisis. From such favourable and prosperous conditions of the capitalists, our people draw no advantage whatsoever. On the contrary, as in all the Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries, the miseries of our people are aggravating. In destroying the structures of our traditional, often organized, societies such as the Kingdom of Congo in the 13th century or the Empire of Lunda in the 16th century—the colonialists have accelerated the process of aggravation of misery and at the same time, freed the explosive forces, which proved a prelude to the liquidation of foreign oppression. The alleged benefits of the capitalist civilization can no longer create illusion.

#### *For example*

In 1958 there were in the Congo 151 students most of whom were trained for the propagation of the mysteries of theology.

In 1960 there was not a single native doctor. According to the statistics of 1957, there was one doctor (non-aboriginal) for every 21,000 inhabitants in the Congo as against one for 800 in Belgium.

In 1957: *mortality rate*

In Belgium	..	..	..	1.195	per cent
In Leopoldville	..	..	..	8.32	per cent
In Elizabethville	..	..	..	6.06	per cent
In an industrial district of the U.M.H.K.	..	..	..	7.5	per cent
In an ordinary district where medical service was intensive	..	..	..	17.79	per cent

The picture is the same with the working conditions. F. Bezy writes by way of showing the cynicism of the colonialist practices: "When a workers costs less than one-tenth dollar a day, a shovel and a pickaxe constitute a luxury which labour cannot compensate for; it costs cheaper to employ supplementary workers than to better equip those who are already in their employment to increase their productivity".

In other words, the sweat of the workers is cheaper for the capitalists than lubricating oil. The result of such practices can be seen more clearly if one compares the real wages of the African workers with the nominal income of the Europeans.

		<i>African workers</i>		<i>Europeans</i>	
<i>Year</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>Real wages</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Nominal income</i>
1954	..	1,240,000	220 million \$	32,000	202 million \$
1958	..	1,102,270	280 million \$	29,689	206 million \$

The average wages of an African worker and those of a European in 1958 were in a ratio of 1 to 33. Such a state of affairs, far from being alleviated, is aggravating, while capitalism, with a view to protecting their privileges, is employing all means at the disposal of the international monopolistic capitalism in collusion with neo-colonialism with which we are all confronted.

### 3. The International Monopolistic Capitalism Allied with Neo-colonialism

The events in our country constitute a valid microcosm for all the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries that are undergoing foreign oppression. The question concerns the exploitation of imperialism in the form of neo-colonialism.

In the Congo the financial filiation of the U.M.H.K. with the principal firms and the Anglo-American financial combines is realised on the basis of complicity with the United States in degrading our country.

The more the United States, the chieftain of imperialism, controls the European economy, the more it influences, through investments and economic aid, the politics of the colonial powers and their stooges.

Dr. PERKHAN, director of the Dutch Bank, declared: "All the underdeveloped countries will in the coming decades face enormous financial, technical and scientific requirements. It will be almost impossible to place these burdens on the shoulders of some of the European countries".

The capital of big international firms and of the countries hitherto kept out of the continent will simultaneously penetrate into Africa through investments. This is the reign of the monopolies.

The mining projects in the former French colonies, for example, are financed by the American, Canadian, German, Italian, British, Swiss and French capitals.

ex. *United Steel* accounts for 49 per cent of the manganic mining in Gabon.

*Frobisher British Iron and Steel* participates in the iron mining of Mauritania.

*Bethlehem Steel* participates in the iron mining of Gabon.

It is therefore American penetration, along side European integration, that represents the main aspect of neo-colonialism in the Afro-Asian countries.

### *American penetration*

This phenomenon is not new. Since long ago, the American capital associated with the British has been predominant in mining enterprises in the Congo, Liberia and South Africa.

What draws our attention is the tendency toward the growth of this phenomenon.

In fact, between 1929 and 1958 the indices of American investments increased from 100 to 760 to reach a total sum of 3,741 million dollars. In 1958 the United States invested in Africa 789 million dollars, of which 510 million went to the mining and oil extraction.

It is South Africa of the Vervoerd racists that gets the largest share of these investments (329 million dollars). Thus, on the subject of the struggle against Apartheid, we came to a perfect knowledge as to the exact meaning of the demagogic and pretentiously humanist statements of the U.S. government.

#### American investments in Africa

1929	..	..	..	102 million dollars
1943	..	..	..	129 million dollars
1950	..	..	..	287 million dollars
1952	..	..	..	399 million dollars
1955	..	..	..	572 million dollars
1956	..	..	..	659 million dollars
1957	..	..	..	711 million dollars
1958	..	..	..	789 million dollars

#### Investments by sectors and countries

<i>Year</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Main countries</i>
1958	Mining and refining	234 million \$	North Africa
	Oil	276 million \$	North Africa
	Processing industries	139 million \$	South Africa
	Commerce	72 million \$	(1,191 million \$) South Africa
	Other sectors	66 million \$	West Africa

#### Breakdown of American Investments by zones

1958	Union of South Africa	—	329 million dollars
	West Africa	—	179 million dollars
	North Africa	—	145 million dollars
	Other parts of Africa	—	136 million dollars

The Rockefeller investing group has joined a financial group which directs the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga on which a large part of American industry depends.

In 1956, 1957 and 1959, 75 to 90 per cent of uranium and thorium in the Congo were shipped to the United States. The United States formerly purchased cobalt from the Congo, but today buys it from

Rhodesia, and it is natural that our brothers in that country should struggle still more fiercely to regain their freedom. The favourable prospects of liberating the Latin American continent opened up by the victory of the Cuban revolution and the resolute struggle being waged in Venezuela, in Bolivia, etc., make the American investments in these countries diminish, whereas its investments in Africa are increasing.

#### American Investments in Latin America

1957	..	..	..	1,402 million dollars
1958	..	..	..	442 million dollars
1959	..	..	..	540 million dollars
1960	..	..	..	260 million dollars

(Documentary Notes and Studies French Documentation Nos. 2629-2689).

Particularly for the Africans this should be a valuable lesson: our continent will not be a safe refuge to U.S. imperialism. As the masses of Latin America are harassing the oppressors, so the African masses should, like the Asian masses, hasten the hunting up of the imperialist monsters.

The N.L.C. on its part has definitely chosen a sure way to victory: our fighters are resolved to drive out U.S. imperialism and their stooges with the firm support of our brothers and friends.

The increased American investments are accompanied by growing commercial relations with the African countries.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Chief products</i>	<i>Volume of exchange</i>
South Africa	Uranium, copper, lead, zinc, ferrous alloy, precious stone	350 million dollars
Congo	Uranium, copper, lead, zinc, ferrous alloy, precious stone	135 million dollars
Liberia	Rubber, iron	64 million dollars
British Africa	Coffee	54 million dollars
Angola	Coffee, cocoa, ferrous alloy	49 million dollars
Rhodesia	Copper, ferrous alloy	44 million dollars
Nyassaland	Non-ferrous, Uranium	
Former A.O.F.	Coffee, cocoa, timber	45 million dollars
Nigeria	Cocoa, rubber, leather	44 million dollars

(Documentary Notes and Studies, Nos. 2629-2689).

The U.S. economic relations with African countries are most accompanied by an "aid" of strategic nature which entails defence agreements in the form of military bases, alignment on the imperialist policy, or in a cultural form most perniciously represented by "Voice of America", "Moral Rearmament", "Peace Corps" or "John Birch Society", accomplices of the Ku Klux Klan.

U.S. "aid" to Africa rose to 72,925 million dollars in 1958.

### Breakdown by Functions and by Countries

1958	<i>Strategic aid</i>	—	46,301 million dollars 63 per cent
	Morocco	—	30,000 million dollars
	Lybia	—	15,000 million dollars
	Ethiopia	—	1,301 million dollars
	<i>Technical Co-operation</i>	—	11,090 million dollars
	Ethiopia	—	3,587 million dollars
	Lybia	—	2,693 million dollars
	Liberia	—	2,291 million dollars
	Tunisia	—	1,282 million dollars
	<i>Special assistance (food supply)</i>		
	Tunisia	—	15,500 million dollars 21.5 per cent
	Other countries	—	34 million dollars 0.5 per cent

In the case of the Congo, neither strategic aid, technical co-operation, nor special aid was given in any definite form. It can be affirmed that Yankee aid to the puppets of our country is very considerable: 60 per cent of the expenses of the U.N. operations are covered by the U.S.

### Breakdown of the Aid

Agriculture	..	36% (including the surplus agricultural produce)
Education	..	26%
Industry and Mining		15.5%
Technical Aid	..	11.5%
Public Health	..	11%

(Documentary Notes and Studies No. 2689).



The U.S. aid is a bundle of explosives craftily placed in the cradle of the young nations. Therefore, the question is to be able to emasculate the invested capitals, regardless whether or not they are American or European.

### *B. European Integration or Common Market*

The Euro-African institutions clearly indicate the international aspect of capital in Africa. The European Economic Community represents the organism of penetration of European capitalism into Africa.

The FEDOM (European Funds of Development for the Overseas Countries) created under the Treaty of Rome of March 25, 1957 is its financial expression.

### **Origin and Uses of the Resources of the FEDOM**

Subscriptions paid between 1958 to 1962 (in million dollars).

Belgium	..	..	..	70
France	..	..	..	200
Bonn Germany	..	..	..	200
Italy	..	..	..	40
Luxemburg	..	..	..	1.25
Holland	..	..	..	40

#### **Uses of the resources (in million dollars)**

Belgic zone	..	..	..	30
French zone	..	..	..	511.25
Italian zone	..	..	..	5
Dutch zone	..	..	..	35

(Documentary Notes and Studies No. 2689).

The utilization of these funds is regulated in accordance with the traditional pattern of capitalism. In fact, the treaty specifies that "the operations should become the object of dealing which inspires the private initiative and competition and that no discrimination can be erected between the traders and enterprisers of the affiliated countries".

The European integration reveals the character of the new forms of colonial exploitation; imperialism is keen to see that increase in investments, aid or desirable co-operation guarantees:

- The affirmation of the capitalist doctrine of profits and free enterprise.
- The distribution of the investments after the pattern of the metropolitan economies, the public sector engaging in non-profitable activities (building of sub-structures and agriculture) and the profitable activities (commerce and industry) being undertaken by the private sector.
- The maintenance of the zones of influence as in the good old days when Africa was divided between the imperialist powers.

We, therefore, see that U.S. imperialism allies itself in an increasing measure with the European colonialists to perpetuate, in the form of neo-colonialist economy, the traditional interests of capitalism.

We now form the great majority of mankind; people call us the underdeveloped countries.

What does it mean?

It means first of all that we are in great misery owing to imperialism.

It does mean that our living standards are very low: less than 125 dollars of income annually per head of the population when the figure is 800 dollars in West Europe and 2,000 dollars in the United States. This gives rise especially to a food situation catastrophic to the existence of our populations.

Ours are underdeveloped countries, which means above all that to the contradiction between the increase of the population and the alleged dearth of resources is added the most glaring contradiction, the contradiction that characterizes our poverty and the unlimited enrichment of our domestic exploiters.

These two courses are characterized by their general tendency toward aggravation which we ascribe to three factors:

- Structural, social, political and economic disorder caused by colonialism;
- Irrationality of production in the face of the insufficient population which the relations of production make paradoxically alarming;
- Impoverishment of the population and aggravation of all these defects as a result of the neo-colonialist attempt to consolidate them;

To shatter all these obstacles for building an independent national economy has therefore become an urgent necessity.

The foreign trade is one of the economic domains where the urgent character of reformation can not be disputed.

Commerce, together with the banking business, is the chief motive for the capitalist implantation in Africa.

The profits realized by this systematic pillage of our riches are enormous.

In 1959 our country's foreign trade turned out as follows:

Export \$500 million (agricultural produce and minerals).

Import \$300 million (of which \$220 million was spent to buy finished consumer goods).

On the other hand, according to the economic reports of the A.O.F. the commercial margins of gains for one year were as follows:

The merchandise imported at the cost of \$2,480,000 were sold to the African consumers at the price of \$5,960,000. Conversely, the capitalists bought products from the African producers at the cost of \$1,600,000 which they exported for \$2,680,000. Monopoly and speculation are characteristic of the foreign transaction of our products. The capitalist type of trade exchanges allotted exclusively to us, in relation to the capitalist industrial countries, the role of a country producing raw materials which are processed in capitalist countries and then are sold to us at exorbitant prices. The monopolies buy raw materials at the lowest prices and sell their manufactured products at the highest prices. These prices are not decided by the laws of demands and supply, but they are set according to the relations of force.

The prices of raw materials are subject to the variations of the nation's economic factors and subordinated to the prices of the manufactured goods. Speculation, slumps of stocks, the effects of World War II and especially the effects of the Korean war, have made the tendency towards a fall in the prices of the raw materials and irrefutable reality. That tendency affects all markets, from the most anarchistic ones with regard to the tropical raw materials to the most organized and best cartelized one, the oil market.

That tendency towards a progressive reduction of prices of raw materials is correlative for the capitalists, of the normal activity and even a rapid growth as shown by the Common Market or other similar organizations of economic integration. Therefore, there can be no solida-

city between our economies and the economies of the countries of the Common Market, all the more so because the devaluation of raw materials is accompanied by the maintenance or increase of the prices of manufactured goods. The result of that situation is the deterioration of the terms of exchange to the detriment of the underdeveloped countries.

For example, if one takes the year 1954 as 100, the indices of the terms of exchange for the capitalist countries increased from 104 to 108 on the average between 1958 and 1961, while the indices for the underdeveloped countries dropped from 92 to 89, namely:

76 to 71 for Latin America,  
92 to 87 for Africa.

This entails for the underdeveloped countries the constant shrinkage of the purchasing power and chronic disproportion of the commercial balance; the imports indispensable to the economic development are thus affected. It is not an economic "aid" of "American style" that can shore up the situation.

In Latin America, it has been confirmed that the losses resulting from the drop in the world market prices surpass by far the credits received from the U.S.A.

To become really helpful, the economic aid should presuppose an independent national economy creating a market favourable to the producers of raw materials. This is just what the people of Cuba, under the leadership of the brother Fidel Castro, have understood and realized. We know that imperialism with the United States at the head does not cease to brew plots against the valiant peoples of Cuba with the aim of wiping out the brilliant perspectives of her economic development. The road of economic development must enable the exploited people to process raw materials by themselves on their own land, with their own manpower and their own raw materials, to transform these materials by means of large investment and consumption. This task will be made possible by the immense riches of Africa and Asia.

The "Economic Survey of Africa" gives the following figures on African resources shown in percentages to the world resources.

Palm oil	..	..	76%
Sisal ..	..	..	71%
Gold ..	..	..	63%
Diamond	..	..	96%
Manganese	..	..	43%

Uranium	..	..	50%
Copper	..	..	24% (ore), 23% (processed copper)
Cobalt	..	..	69%
Chrome	..	..	41%
Tantalum	..	..	95%

#### *Estimated Fuel Resources*

Oil	..	..	1,701 million barrels
Coal	..	..	42,100 million tons

#### *Hydro-Electricity*

Former French Equatorial Africa	..	..	8 million kwh
Former French West Africa	..	..	9 million kwh
Angola	..	..	77 million kwh
Congo	..	..	176,280,000 kwh

To this must be added millions of hours of labour that the African toilers provided for the prosperity of the capitalists especially under the system of forced labour.

The resources, however, exist for achieving an independent national economy.

In the work of national reconstruction, we will not shut out economic co-operation which is compatible with equality and mutual interests. The economic aid, particularly of America, we have already mentioned, is veritably a mine laid in the cradle of the new-born countries. The invested capital carries with itself the social, economic and political structures of the country from which it comes, and from that source came the American strategic demands in Europe in the form of the Marshal plan as well as in Africa, and Asia, and today in Latin America. Capitals and the economic, technical and cultural aid bring with them the danger of becoming agents of imperialism and the danger of political subversion.

Therefore, it is necessary to neutralize the capitals and aid, by setting up control organizations and strengthening management in each underdeveloped country; and for the entire underdeveloped countries, by organizing a union of all producers of raw materials based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

We particularly note the victory gained in Mali through the creation of the SOMIEX, the Mali Import-Export Company which has laid a foundation for progressive control of foreign trade; we also note the necessity of a union which has recently been more or less vaguely felt in the boycott by the raw materials producing countries against the capitalist countries.

Under the invincible pressure of the national-liberation movement, capitalism seeks to adapt itself to the new situation caused by the bitter struggle of the people; imperialism has invented this or that formula of formal, negotiated independence by which imperialism quits by the gate only to come back through the window.

The international financial powers support—as in Gabon—the feeble, corruptible, extempore governments of the bourgeoisie that cannot grow firm without giving their allegiance to imperialism.

These national bourgeoisie guarantee the interests of the international bourgeoisie that profits by the feebleness of the underdeveloped countries.

Here we see neo-colonialism which Syngman Rhee's, Noury Saïds, Ngo Dinh Diems, Hubert Magas and Fulbert Youlous in their days serve as its patented henchment. The people have disposed of these traitors. Others like Chang Kai-shek or the sinister Tshombe are still running about tended by imperialism for their service offered to imperialism.

The economic ties, instrument of the American and European neo-colonialists have led the Congolese stooges of imperialism to christen their servitudes since 1960 as "independence" and to justify the repression of the fighters under the pretext of an imaginary national unity and false atmosphere of peace. The Marshal plan, sinister mirror for the Europeans.

The events in Korea, Katanga, Vietnam, Brazil, etc., will always be a lesson for the people who are struggling for the recovery of their dignity and their genuine freedom.

The adaption tactics of the imperialists should not fool us any more; the peoples of Asia and Africa will not give the U.S. imperialists and their stooges any more breathing space. We Congolese have understood it once and for all. The N.L.C. will always deal decisive blows at the U.S. imperialists to break up the structure of U.S. imperialism to break up the backward, colonial structure of our country and to definitely create for our people firm conditions for the implementation of the creative tasks of progress. The Statement of the Communist and Worker's Parties of 1960 in its Part IV points out: "The Meeting demands non-interference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and all the other countries that have won their freedom. All the socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement recognize their duty to render for fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny".

The N.L.C. considers that the realization of these affirmations plus our own determination is a guarantee for the victory over imperialism, neo-colonialism of all forms and for peace.

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## (SUPPLEMENT TO THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL OF CONGO LEOPOLDVILLE TO THE ECONOMIC SEMINAR,

Dear brothers and sisters,

June 30, 1960 marked a radiant dawn for our people.

At the cry of President Patrice LUMUMBA, whose death at the hands of brutal assassins we will regret forever, the great night we had been plunged into dissipated at last. Bright prospects of creation were opened up before our people.

Alas, imperialism led by the U.S.A. was watching in the shade. The hope which was born with our liberation was crushed by the machinations of the U.S.A. and its criminal accomplice, the United Nations.

What the puppets in power have done ever since amounts in fact to a glaring degradation of the institution, economy and life of the country.

- The national economy, underground resources and commerce are more and more subject to brigandish, gangster-like colonialist exploitation.
- The national institutions are nothing but an appendage to Washington: the parliament has been dissolved, the genuine representatives of the people are pursued, but in prison, assassinated.

Who can tell what has become of Lumumba's faithful comrade and eminent successor, President GIZENGA.

- The national life is adulterated by the misleading conceptions and values of capitalist society.

The Adoula-Kasavubu-Mobutu clique, traitors to the cause of the African people, to the cause of the Afro-Asian and Latin American people, curiously enough, still pass for representatives of our people in the eyes of African governments and even some of our friends. With their hands stained with the blood of the patriots they sign the program of unity of commercial agreements. Is it not an objective aid indirectly given to the U.S. imperialists to whom that clique are spokesmen in our country. We wish to co-exist peacefully, but not with anyone.

No collaboration with the Tshombe accomplices. The N.L.C., the successor to the cause of LUMUMBA, is the sole organisation entitled to speak in the name of the Congolese people. Despite material difficulties, despite the opinions in favour of the alleged new atmosphere of peace, the N.L.C., in order to decisively drive out the Americans out of our country, has embarked upon the only sure way, of resolute struggles including armed one under the effective leadership of Comrade Pierre MULELE.

Dear brothers and sisters,

We Congolese confirm every day in the facts, that imperialism has never changed. We Congolese peoples, following the example of the Korean people, have finally understood that the imperialist violence must be opposed with a revolutionary violence.

Dear brothers and sisters, imperialism is claiming world domination. It is conceived. But its belly is still fattish. Our determination, our resolution, our unity in the struggle against imperialism led by the U.S.A. will surely defeat the shameful machinations.



## FRANCIS N. MACHARIA (Kenya)

I wish to say something about our Chamber of Commerce. The primary objects of the Chamber are to promote and protect Home and Foreign trade and commerce and the manufacturers of Kenya. In carrying out these functions the Chamber considers all questions of importance to such trade, commerce and manufacturers and acts as an intermediary between the commercial community, the Government, Parliament and Public bodies generally, in all matters affecting the interest of the business community. The Chamber collects and disseminate statistics and other information relating to trade, commerce and manufacturers, and generally to assist members by every possible means. Another important function of the Chamber is to educate the public through Trade magazines and other media in matters of sound business. It conducts short courses for businessmen, co-operate with the Government institutions like those of Community Development, and in so doing organizes, encourages and offers technical knowledge to traders.

Mr. President, commercially we have still a battle to fight. Our country has attained her independence but my business community has yet to achieve its full economic independence. Besides the Kenya Chamber of Commerce and Industry, a National Chamber, we have the European Chambers and the Indian Chambers which were established many years back and still carry with them the past imperialistic business ideas in our independent Kenya. The question how commerce and industry should fit into the national structure of an independent country's economy, to the best advantage of all concerned, is of undeniable importance. There is no argument about it, the interest of the indigenous population should be paramount, not only in the political life but also economically. It has to be considered whether the old ramifications of commerce, organised through a loose association of racial chambers, will efficiently cope with the task ahead. We are to consolidate the meagre resources of organising ability and leadership which are at our disposal; we are to absorb into the commercial and industrial life the emerging class of indigenous businessman; we are to close the ranks of various commercial interests into a coherent and dynamic body able to work effectively; we are to synchronise the overseas and expatriates commercial and industrial interest with the private sector of the national economy. In my sincere belief, I cannot visualise that this can be done through a fabric of racial chambers. The whole situation is pathetic, when experienced businessmen are not in a position to utilise their experience, under the present set-up,

for the benefit of the country and to fulfil the fatal role which they have to play. It is obvious to me that with the old political order gone, these racial chambers have been uprooted in their existence, but are reluctant to take a realistic approach to the changed political, social and economic conditions. A bold step in the right direction would leave them with no other answer but to join the one National Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which is already in existence.

To sustain the good will among the business community, it is no need for me to embark on reasons why these racial groups were so slow to grasp the present situation in commerce, as it stands, but I would like to bring to their notice their eventual losses. They will lose the good will of the ordinary businessman and his backing in future. They will miss the opportunity to help to establish a strong indigenous middle class and create favourable economic conditions for their own or their principals' commercial houses and manufacturing concerns. They will deprive themselves of the opportunity to work together with the man in the field, to get to know all about him and help him to achieve a better life for a common purpose. As the President of the Chamber which is the National Chamber in our country, I know that the friendly hand is out-stretched to any expatriate businessman to join in. I hope that they will realise it, in time.

### **Investment in Kenya Industry**

Kenya offers all modern facilities to investors and welcomes capital investment. Considerable development of primary and secondary industries has already taken place. Attractive possibilities for further investment exist, particularly in textile and manufacture of consumer goods, knitting wool, processing of foodstuffs, pulp and paper manufacture from Kenya forests, packing industries, assembly industries for motor vehicles and agricultural implements, plastic and building materials.

### **Industrial Land**

Industrial estates, offering all necessary facilities including rail service, exist in all the main centres. Land is available for immediate occupation on reasonable terms.

### **Treatment of Overseas Capital**

Application for the introduction of foreign capital from outside the scheduled territories (i.e. the sterling area) for direct investment in Kenya are sympathetically considered on the merit of each case. As a general

guide, the conditions that have to be satisfied before an application to invest foreign capital in the country can be approved may be summarised as (a) the proposed project will lead either to the earning or saving of foreign currency, or (b) the investment will result in a gain in technical knowledge, etc., that would be of overall importance to the economic development of the country, even though it involves an actual loss in foreign exchange. Consideration is also given to the question whether the project will result in production that is likely to increase the economic wealth and social stability of the country, to raise the national income and to promote the diversification of the country's economy.

### **Government Participation in Industry**

The Government is willing to consider financial participation in industrial development which is likely to further the economic development of Kenya. This would normally be in collaboration with private enterprise capital and expertise.

### **Immigration**

New industries are permitted, subject to compliance with the Immigration Ordinance, to bring in essential management and technical personnel from overseas. They are expected to provide training within industry to enable the maximum practicable employment of local people as soon as possible.

Afro-Asian solidarity must remain strengthened to bring about the possibilities of building and developing independent national economies for Afro-Asian countries, and to create the principle of self-reliance in building independent national economy and its relationship to economic co-operation based on equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs.

Wishing that the bonds of relationship between KENYA and ASIA should maintain and strengthen further our cordial and harmonious relations.

That was a short report about the functioning of our Chamber and about the difficulties confronting it.

I now wish to give the critical factors in Kenya economic development.

The Secretary General will give in details more information and resolution that we wish to propose to this seminar for your consideration.

Kenya has now attained Independence. Our next immediate goal should be to 'double' the income available to the ordinary worker and peasant farmer. To do this we must plan to conserve our scarce resources and to employ them in ways that shall yield maximum productivity. Our first task in planning for economic growth is to take an inventory of the resources available in Kenya. We must then devise policy to stimulate demand for Kenya's products both at home and abroad. We must further make decisions on the following questions:—

(1) The proportion of our total national production that is to go to investment as consumption;

(2) How far we are to satisfy collective social needs (e.g. education) as against individual wants.

At the same time, we must strive not only for maximum production, but also for an equitable distribution of National income and our Government must adjust its taxation structure and its spending policy to achieve that end. The critical factors in our economic development are: land and natural resources, capital and manpower.

### **(1) Population**

The rate of growth of Kenya's population is estimated at 3% per annum. This means that approximately 300,000 people or 50,000 families will be added to the population during each of the next five years. By 1970 Kenya should have a population of 11 million i.e., two million more in 1964 or approximately 300,000 new families. If full employment is attained this growth in population will mean a substantial increase in the domestic demand for locally produced and imported products and therefore a rapidly growing market for enterprising farmers, traders and industrialists. On the other hand, his rapid growth of population will magnify the employment problem; it will mean that we must find jobs for 50,000 'new workers' each year. The high rate of population growth will ensure that our economy will not suffer a shortage of unskilled labour.

### **(2) Manpower**

In future, this dependence on foreign personnel cannot be relied on and indeed is undesirable. We must therefore mobilise our educational system to train at least 60,000 people to be added to the pool of high level manpower over the next six years. This will be a very difficult task but it is an investment that is crucial and on which the success of our

development plans entirely depends. Even if we can raise the financial resources for that scale of training, we still have to face the problem of the availability of teachers and students. Thus, for instance, there are only 5,000 students currently studying in Form IV throughout Kenya. This leads us to the conclusion that our second major objective in the field of training high level manpower must necessarily be:—

- (a) The rapid expansion of secondary level education;
- (b) Assurance of university places to qualified students;
- (c) The expansion of managerial and technical training facilities;
- (d) The increase of opportunities for gaining experience in commerce, industry and agriculture.

### **(3) Land**

Kenya's most important natural resource is land. We must therefore put it into intensive productive utilisation if we are to realise the high rate of economic growth we want. Kenya has over 140,000,000 acres of land but only 26 million acres receive enough rainfall and are otherwise suited to intensive livestock and agricultural production or mixed farming or plantation industries. Yet Kenya is basically an agricultural economy. Of the total of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million families in Kenya in 1964, only about 400,000 families derived their livelihood from sources other than agriculture. In order to achieve the rapid rate of economic growth projected we must:—

- (a) Undertake more intensive methods of land utilisation in the areas of high potential;
- (b) Ensure that all land of high potential now lying idle or under-utilised is brought to maximum production. In this connection it is estimated that possibly one million acres of land of the highest potential is now both unoccupied and idle whilst much of the occupied land is under utilised and under-developed;
- (c) We must reclaim through irrigation or through the eradication of tse-tse fly and bush clearance the millions of acres of land which are now only marginally utilised;
- (d) We must have closer supervision over the farmer and the farmer must learn not only to read and write, but also better farming methods so as to raise his present low level of productivity

### **(4) Capital**

Like skilled labour and productive land, capital is also a very scarce resource in Kenya. In the past 10 years, over 60% of our capital formation has been privately financed. Even more significant, the bulk of all capital

formation in the last 10 years whether private or public has come from overseas. In the current development plan, the Government and the Kenya people must secure the necessary capital to build schools, roads, railways, airports, agricultural training facilities, parks and lodges, water supplies, irrigation projects, factories, offices. The question is "how shall we raise the necessary capital"? I would suggest:—

- (a) The Kenya people must be prepared to save a higher proportion of their income than they have done in the past. If voluntary savings prove inadequate, the Government must be prepared for measures to secure the necessary proportion of the national income for the purposes of investments;
- (b) We must ensure that the structure of the various development projects is such as to utilise, wherever possible more labour and less capital because labour, particularly unskilled labour is in plentiful supply;
- (c) Measures must be taken to ensure that savings made in Kenya are in as far as possible reinvested in Kenya.

#### **(5) Organisation**

Then new element in development which Kenyans will need to accept is that we cannot have the rapid rate of economic growth without a proper discipline both as regards the sources of our income and the uses to which those incomes are put. This means that there must be closer and more centralised planning of the economy as a whole.

Mr. Nicholas Gor will give you more details and the proposed resolutions.

Haraambe!

#### **NICHOLAS P. GOR (Kenya)**

KENYA'S economic and social pattern of life before independence was considerably low compared with many other underdeveloped countries. Much of the developments achieved were one-sided developments in which Africans were not in a position to play a full and active part. Now that a new Nation has been born, our immediate problem, therefore, is to speed up the overall rate of development by transforming our almost purely trading and raw material producing economies into productive units capable of being a superstructure of modern agriculture and industry. This, indeed, is a difficult task confronting this newly born state, that has for centuries been under the imperialist yoke.

A lot of hard work lies ahead to be done before Kenya can take her place among the highly developed nations of the world. **TH'S IS A CHALLENGE WHICH ALL KENYANS HAVE ACCEPTED** and are doing their best to make their country a model in the eyes of the world.

Dear Comrades, Our country is almost an entirely agricultural country. The plateau and highlands have extremely rich soil and moderate climate, and are the main farming areas. Here, Europeans and Asians still own large farms and plantations and have in the past been the biggest employers of Kenya's manpower. Since independence, many African farmers have been given opportunities of sharing with a European and Asian farmer the benefits of these rich soils of our country, and have made a tremendous progress. It is therefore being hoped that Kenya's economic development based on an African participation is not far from being bright.

One of the first tasks undertaken by our Government immediately after elections last year was to set up a Council of experts from outside the Government, known as the Planning and Development Advisory Council, to consider the possibilities of achieving a rate of growth which will hold out the prospect of a better and more comfortable life for our people. Kenya has to achieve a rate of growth greater than 3 per cent per annum if it is to make any progress at all. A report of this Council, which will become the Kenya's Economic Development Plan covering the period of 1964-70, will be published shortly and will be the **BLUE PRINT** for economic development over the next six years, setting out the goals for this development as well as the heavy financial cost it will involve. In order to fit with the changing circumstances, the proposition contained in the report will be under constant review.

Like many other developing countries, we need the money for varieties of projects and industries. Our Government is quite willing to offer guarantees and incentives, and has repeatedly affirmed that "Whole-sale nationalisation is out of question". The door is open to investors from all parts of the globe, of course, provided they abide by the lawful regulations and instructions of the country.

Mr. President, Kenya was in an acute financial distress during the years 1961-1963, as political instability loomed over the rich green land of our country, a condition humiliating and irritating to national dignity. A drastic decline in private developments subsequently aroused a threat to the peace and prosperity of the nation. But as a result of the titanic

efforts of the New Government led by our Prime Minister, Mr. Jomo Kenyetta, an atmosphere of financial and political stability returned and a considerable number of foreign and local investments are now in full swing. Gentlemen, there is no trade stagnation in Kenya. The rise of a vast new market among Africans with more money to spend is creating entirely new opportunities and demand.

### Critical Factors

In 1962, Kenya's total population was 8,676,000 people, approximately divided between males and females. Of these, approximately 51% of the population is under 16 years of age and is therefore dependent on others for livelihood. A very high proportion is illiterate and can only be employed in a manual unskilled jobs, and therefore, their productivity is necessarily limited. If we are to attain a high rate of economic growth, we must render this illiterate labour more productive.

Another critical factor is the rate of growth of Kenya's population which is estimated at 3% per annum. This means that approximately 300,000 people or 50,000 families will be added to the population during each of the next five years. By 1970, Kenya should have a population of 11 million, i.e. 2 million more in 1964 or approximately 300,000 new families. If full employment is attained, this growth in population will mean substantial increase in the domestic demand for locally produced and imported products, and therefore a rapidly growing market for enterprising farmers, traders and industrialists. On the other hand, this rapid growth of population will magnify the employment problem. It will mean that we must find jobs for more than 50,000 new workers each year. The high rate of population growth will ensure that our economy will not suffer a shortage of unskilled labour.

We have in the past depended on foreign personnel in high capacities such as professional men, technologists, senior and junior administrators, supervisors, nurses, stenographers, teachers and technicians. This must not be allowed to continue any longer. Let an immigrant race hold up a high ranking job only because we like him, but not because we lack manpower of our own.

Mr. President, I would therefore request this seminar to pass the following resolutions:—

- (1) That, owing to the existing high rate of illiteracy in the Afro-Asian Region, this conference should consider seriously the establishment of adequate technical and trade training centres



whereby the businessmen and leaders can be trained for business management. Special attention should be given to the newly independent countries.

- (2) That in order to strengthen economic development of the Afro-Asian Region and to bring the Afro-Asian Region into the realm of highly productive modern region, a gigantic self-help programme should be initiated under the directions of an integrated planning within an overall policy decided by the Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Planning. If such step was taken, a Common Market within the Region could be established.
- (3) That it should be realised that Chambers of Commerce and Industry are in a position to unify the vast mineral and power resources within the Region and as such, are in a position to reverse the colonial system of economic planning which for centuries suppressed countries which they ruled. This being so, I move that the Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Planning should devote more of its time on the establishment of Chambers of Commerce in the newly independent countries, where it is impossible due to certain reasons, the Organisation should send its own staff to assist.
- (4) That South African goods must not be allowed into any of the countries within the Afro-Asian Region whose bond of relations have been tightened. We in Kenya strongly reject the Boer's calvinism doctrine which withholds the full grace of God from our Brothers and Sisters, and for a long time will not compromise with any of them, unless a change of character, socially, economically and politically, takes place. Our Chamber, if permitted by this Conference, will form an intelligence section to investigate into existence of South African "Faithless Traitors" of those doing trade with them. If possible we will throw them out of our country in consultation with our Government.

**LONG LIVE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY.**

## SORI SISSOKO (Mali)

First of all I would like to join my voice with that of those who preceded me here to thank the Korean people for their admirable reception they have accorded us, and do homage to their courage and their determination in their fight against all those who infringe upon the dignity and honor of their country.

Since the victory of the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people and victorious turn of the struggle waged by the Algerian people, the French colonialists have understood the simple truth that once people make up their mind to free themselves, they surely liberate themselves. The divided, weakened and exploited peoples of Black Africa have become aware of their liberty. Already in 1957, after a heroic struggle against a most cunning colonialism, i.e. British colonialism, the Ghanaian people led by Dr. NKRUMA hoisted in the sky of the dark post-war Africa the banner of a free State.

In French colonies the fever mounted. The colonialists foresaw and gave in. Autonomy was granted, and then independence. However, prior to it they had launched an insidious campaign: "The era of domination has gone", they said, "this is an epoch of co-operation. We want to help you develop your country which is now sovereign, you need assistance . . . etc".

Such was the slogans of those who are responsible for the poverty and underdeveloped state of our country, those who exploited us and who became rich with our riches.

Faced with the extensive poverty of our peoples and the immense tasks to be tackled, some African leaders, and in fact majority of them, seriously took the gambling put forward by the imperialists, in the hope that it would be the financial, technical and other means without which their countries could not reach the stage of a modern country.

The result is the maintenance of the colonial economic ties, and at that not economic ties alone, because having succeeded in their economic blackmail, the imperialists extended it to other domains and in the end they made these countries adopt their views in the international affairs.

What are these colonial economic ties? Commercial nexus chiefly with the countries of the colonizers who receive home products and are ensured the market for their manufactured goods.

- Freedom of shipping capitals from African countries to the countries of the colonizers.
- Exclusive rights to the technicians of the countries of the colonizers, if there is any “technical assistance”. Moreover, the capitalist enterprises, having settled down, demand stabilised salaries, tax exemption, cheap rates in the purchase of raw material if a factory deals with local raw material, because very often industries that settle down under such circumstances have the sole object of exploiting the African markets seeking their own interests. They have no influence on agricultural production and have nothing to do with the creation of the funds for national accumulation.

On the contrary they squeeze the national savings out of the country.

The capitalists are still more protected with the presence of military bases: thus they are going to be kept aloof from the coming eddy-wind that might lead to nationalization.

Friends, in this way economic blackmail gradually leads to the collapse of independence; African countries are becoming branches of old colonizing countries one by one. This is the case with many African states at present. They have no economic policy except that of the previous colonizers, no diplomacy except that of the latter and no friends except those of the latter.

Such a total alienation comes from the fear: the fear of difficulties, fear of struggle, fear of their people, the people whom they distrust or at least they put no trust in.

The difficulties? Yes, they do exist.

The riches of our people are really considerable, but above all the underground resources are only potential. Actually exploited resources are all agricultural which are subject to the mercy of nature. Productivity under the colonial regime was next to nothing—single crop system created unbalance. Financial means at the disposal of our States with regard to the needs of the inhabitants are very scanty. Only 7 per cent of the children go to school, and two thirds of the population have no access to medical service. In the so-called French West Africa, industry has been practically non-existent except for several small, insignificant installations. In almost

all of these countries the whole budget is absorbed by salaries and expenditures of the administration. Moreover, four years after their independence some African States still rely on France for their administration expenditures.

In some cases, on the eve of independence and to the detriment of the revolutionary forces, the colonialists encouraged their puppets with whom they had been attaining their objects, to assume office and the puppet regimes are nothing but a facade behind which the imperialists fire at will. The puppet regime is a signboard that serves only as a cover for the imperialists.

In another case as we see in the Congo, following the independence the progressive national forces are violently challenged by the imperialists unmasked or masked under their various instruments called international organisations. Thus in Africa neo-colonialism settles down mainly in the following manner:

1. The leaders are frightened by the bulk of tasks in the up-building and are thrown into despair in face of the precarious national means, having no confidence in their people and committing themselves to the mercy of the colonialists who corrupt them and finally set them against the people.

2. Puppet rulers are brought up and imposed by the colonialists against the people's will before and after the independence. Neo-colonialism inevitably settles down in those African States where the rulers, despite their anti-imperialist positions at the outset, lead their country along the road of capitalist construction.

Why?

Because the African bourgeoisie of those countries if there is, who have any at all, are landed proprietors, merchants or bureaucrats and in each case they are petty bourgeoisie, weak without means and absolutely incapable of pushing forward economic development. Thus in the end they inevitably become tied to the international capital.

In West Africa, a sphere to which we belong, for example, most countries find themselves in one of the above-said cases. Three States have chosen another position based on anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle: These are GHANA, GUINEA and MALI.

As regards the Republic of Mali, at the time when we proclaimed the independence we set forth the following as the general line:

— Liquidation of the colonial structures.

— Organisation of a national economy in the sole interests of the people.

— International co-operation based on respect and mutual benefit.

To sum up very roughly we can say:

— We have cleared our territory of foreign military bases.

We have nationalised big banks and created the national currency.

We have established state monopoly on the export of domestic products as well as on the import of goods of large consumptions, which are diffused throughout the country through chains of State-run shops and a major network of co-operatives.

The three transport companies, air-line, water and land transport companies, have been nationalised.

— New-born industry is wholly owned by the people.

— A national enterprise is engaged in mining researches. Agriculture has been reorganized on a co-operative basis.

We did not have any land reform because there were no landlords. With the assistance of the Chinese People's Republic we have begun a many-sided development of the rural economy. Thus we succeeded in cultivating sugar cane and tea despite the warning of the colonialist technicians.

For further development, we have worked out a five-year plan which is now in its fourth year. At the end of the target year, we will have made a major step out of the colonial economy.

We have already raised the percentage of school attendance from 7 per cent to 33 per cent. In the international field the imperialist brought into our country the representatives of Ching Kai-shek and the South Vietnam puppets on the eve of the independence.

We drove them out and established ties of sincere friendship with the real representatives of the peoples of China and Vietnam.

In co-operating with other countries for the past four years since the independence we have gained a certain experience which we may confide to our African comrades.

The imperialist are ready to aid only to maintain colonial structures with as many military bases of aggression as possible, only to make aggressions as they did against Cuba, only to hire the United Nations, to only send arms to Portugal in her war against Africa. In other words imperialism can never aid a free people. It aids only itself.

As regards the socialist camp, we experienced disappointments we have hardly expected. As a matter of fact the representatives of some European socialist countries behaved before us as nationals of capitalist countries. In the talks, commercial interests seemed to prevail far over the concern of friendly co-operation and mutual assistance. The spirit of fraternity and mutual assistance was shown by the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist countries of Africa, by Asian socialist countries, namely, the Chinese People's Republic, Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

As a matter of fact, for example, while, France, the former metropolitan country, suggests 40,000 F.M. or 160 U.S. dollars for a technician, certain socialist countries of Europe ask 125,000 F.M. or 500 U.S. dollars for a technician of the same qualification. For the same matter China wants 18,000 F.M. or 72 U.S. dollars, that is, less than what we pay a Malian of the same qualification.

In the domains of investments, the economic requirements demanded by certain socialist countries of Europe were such that we gave up the projects in question. On the eve of our independence we could hardly imagine such an attitude on the part of the socialist countries. We have in general realised that in building up oneself, one must rely first of all on one's own forces and do away with all illusions of calling upon other people to rely on and that one should never take the foreign aid for a contribution. We have mobilised our people on various fields of the country. We have raised a national loan to create funds for the accumulation. Our workers have contributed 27 per cent of their wages for the period of the construction of their fatherland. Women have donated their gems. Our people have realised that they should dedicate their energy and resources for the building of their future.

If in the African countries which are engulfed in neo-colonialism the rising progressive forces base themselves henceforth on the principle of self-reliance and educate their people on this basis, they will not only avoid the disappointment we have gone through, but will also be able to make a big national leap forward which alone will enable the people to forge ahead towards happiness. Our experience in this field will be very useful for the welfare of our common fatherland. Whatever the privations and sacrifices may face Africa, it is the path for Africa to follow hand in hand with Asia and wage this gigantic battle, from which we will emerge victorious over our common exploiters and misery.

### SALEH HUSSEIN (Palestine)

Permit me, first of all, to convey to you and, through you, to your peoples the greetings of the Arab people of Palestine who are struggling against imperialism and Zionism.

I also extend our greetings to the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea who accord us sumptuous hospitality. I cannot but admire the great progress which the Korean people have achieved by carrying through the policy of self-reliance and I am deeply confident that the South Korean people will be surely emancipated from the cruel colonial rule of American imperialism and Korea will be unified at an early date.

Wherever I went since my arrival here in Korea, I could witness the features of the working people full of firm resolve for struggle and construction.

Complete victory is won only when the people become conscious of the nature of imperialism and its policies of all sorts of aggression, thereby touching off the burning hatred of the people for imperialism.

History teaches us that imperialists are idiots when you talk to them in the language of peace and logic but they become very cunning wherever the flames of revolution flare up around them.

This great conference is a product of the stubborn struggle and, at the same time, the inevitable demand of the struggle.

We have come to attend this conference with the object of acquiring a better understanding of the experiences attained by the people in their struggles against imperialism and of the vile machinations of every description committed by the imperialists against the Asian and African peoples, and of getting you acquainted with the tragic conditions imposed upon the Arab people in Palestine by imperialism and Zionism.

It is my firm belief that the discussions at this conference will become a great help to our fighting people.

The experience gained by us in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism enabled us to see through the true nature of the pernicious cancer, "Israel".

In fabricating "Israel" in Arab area connecting our two continents, the imperialists and the Zionists had it in view to cut off the connection between the two continents of Asia and Africa, put down the liberation movement in these continents, destroy the economies of the new-born independent countries, plunder the people of the two continents of their wealth and put the new-emerging countries under their control.

To give you a full understanding of the grave danger caused by the very existence of the so-called "Israel", I am going to refer to the following points:

What is the origin of Israel?

What are the relations of Israel with imperialism?

What is the attitude of Israel toward the Asian and African peoples?

By answering these questions we can make clear the relation between Israel and imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

First, I would like to dwell upon how Israel came into being. In pursuance of its imperialist aim, the British government in 1907 convened a meeting of the European imperialist powers which was attended by delegates of many countries.

In his speech Campbell-Bannerman, the delegate of the United Kingdom, the sponsor of the meeting, said:

Many empires come into being and are expanded and strengthened and, when developed to a certain degree, begin to decline gradually and go to ruin in the long run. History abounds with such instances.

History knows ancient empires such as Rome, Greece, India and China, and much earlier still, such as Babylonia, Yasu and Baraun.

Do you know any ways and means to prevent or delay the course of European imperialism's collapse? The present state of affairs has reached the zenith: European Continent has become an old continent which has been drained of resources and has come to the end of its civilization. But the other world is still in its youth, and their science, organization and happiness are being promoted all the more. Our well-being and success in government depend upon you".

The participants of the meeting—they are plotters—after a several month's study, at last submitted a lengthy report on the essential ways to prevent the disintegration of imperialism on a world scale or delay it at least.



The resolution they adopted boiled down to an attempt to wreck the unity of the Arab states by employing all conceivable ways and means, such as dividing them into many small states from the Arabian Bay to the Atlantic, breeding discord and causing disputes among them.

Particularly, the participants of the meeting stressed the necessity of taking prompt actions in order to separate the Arab nations in the African region from those in Asia. To this end, they proposed to lay a racial barrier in our Arab Palestine, a bridge linking the two continents—Asia and Africa. They erected such aggressive and racial barrier close to the Suez Canal with the aim of checking the revolution of the Arab peoples and attaining other imperialist schemes in this region. In 1917, less than ten years after such an imperialist decision was taken, they issued the Balfour Declaration in which the British Foreign Minister promised to convert Arab Palestine into the national homeland of the Jews throughout the world.

In this way, Palestine has been turned into a part of British property where British laws are enforced.

When World War I ended in 1918, Palestine came to be placed under British mandate. Downing street robbers, in close co-operation with the beasts of the White House and all other imperialist forces, steadily carried out their premeditated criminal plan.

This plan, born of the aggressive nature of imperialism, aims at oppressing the Arab people in Palestine and driving them into poverty by all means, and at emigrating the Jewish youth to Palestine supplying them with modern weapons to train them and thereby occupy the vast land of Arab Palestine without paying any compensation or even any normal price.

In 1918 Jews accounted for only 2 per cent of the population of Palestine and 2·4 per cent of its land. Originally, this land was acquired through bribery during the reign of the Ottoman Empire over Palestine. But on May 15, 1946, when British mandate came to an end, Jews accounted for 33 per cent of the Palestine population and 7 per cent of its land.

Then the Jews, with the military, political and economic support of the malicious Anglo-American imperialists, expelled the Palestinians from many areas of the country, and proclaimed what they call Israel.

By 1949 the number of Jews grew to 900,000 and they held 75 per cent of the Arab Palestinian territory.

Since then Jews have thronged to Israel from all parts of the world, from Europe and the United States in particular. Jewish population grew from 20,000 in 1918 to two million.

The Campbell-Bannerman Resolution and the Balfour Declaration were thus translated into reality.

The imperialist lackeys in Israel, with U.S. aid to the tune of 4 billion dollars, have undertaken large water pipeline installing projects between the North Eastern part of Palestine and the North Southern desert, to steal the water of the Jordan River and transform the former river basin into desert.

Their aim is to move 3 million Jews anew to our territory under occupation, in an attempt to carry forward criminal schemes in collusion with the U.S. imperialists.

I will, next, dwell upon the relation between Zionism and imperialism.

If you know how Israel came into being, I believe, you will not be surprised at the allegation of Herbert Profeil, a U.S. Attorney-General, that "there is soil in Israel to develop American ideology", nor will you be surprised at the words of Churchill, an old ultra imperialist, "I am proud of being a Zionist".

Last month, Levie Ashkwoe paid a visit to the U.S., "the largest dumping ground of imperialism". Then the U.S. President, professing shamelessly close friendship and co-operation between the two countries, stressed that the United States would protect Israel.

When we say that the main motive force of all criminal activities in Israel is provided by the Campbell-Bannerman Conference, the Balfour Declaration and the U.S. imperialist policy, we should not forget another motive force. That is, the world Zionists are in possession of a large body of monopolies in the capitalist world. As you know well, it is these monopolies that work out the policies of imperialism, the government organs only being executors of these policies.

On the basis of all these facts, we are justified to say that word Zionism, which finds its concentrated expression in Israel, is the apex of Israel; imperialism, is the main prop of imperialism in the Middle East.

Now, about the attitude of the Israeli people towards the Afro-Asian peoples.

It is not too much to say that Israel has attained its aim of founding a state. At present, Israel is racking its brains to attain its Zionist, imperialist aims which are yet to be attained.

- (1) As I mentioned above, Israel massacred tens of thousands of our people or deported them from their motherland after robbing them of their riches. World Zionists have consistently executed all these schemes with the assistance and under supervision of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists and all other imperialist forces.
- (2) Israel has strengthened its relations with quite a few reactionary puppet cliques serving Anglo-U.S. imperialism in Asia and Africa, including the Pak Jung Hi clique, Chang Kai-shek clique, the puppets in South Vietnam, etc.
- (3) Israel has hampered, and is hampering, the national-liberation movement in the two continents of Asia and Africa. It is providing Portugal with weapons to kill the heroic Angolan revolutionaries. Israel helped the French secret army by furnishing it with weapons and military personnel and training its officers, and thus volunteered for suppressing the Algerian revolution. Israel has flung wide open its armoury to the South African rulers, vicious advocates of racism. This is not accidental in view of the singular likeness between the two parties in their beliefs and methods.

We will never forget the crimes Israel committed in conspiracy with the British and French imperialists in the war over the Suez Canal along with the criminal acts of the British and French war incendiaries who ran wild in the arena provided by the arch-imperialist Dulles.

- (4) As a result of the emergence of Israel in the heart of Arab nations, the peoples of Arab countries are compelled to spend a substantial portion of their income to counter the criminal aggressive schemes of the imperialists. If we closely co-operate with each other to protect our common interests of wealth and markets, opposing the imperialists and the Israeli expansionists, the Arab people who have risen up in the struggle will be able to put an end to the imperialist aggression in the Middle East and enjoy peace and a happy life.
- (5) Besides all these crimes perpetrated by Israel against the newly-independent countries in Asia and Africa, we must also note that Israel is penetrating into the countries of these areas by

means of harmful economic aid and economic and technical agreements. It is a sophism that Israel, which itself is eking out its bare existence by looting other countries and depending on others' aid, should blab about aiding new-born countries. But it is understandable when we bear in mind that such "aid" is nothing but a U.S. bait attached to the fishing rod of Israel. Once fish is netted through such aid, Israel will cancel the aid and start to pull the net. This is because no more bait is needed for the fish in the net, as noted by Rockefeller, a war peddler, in one of his messages to the U.S. President.

That is because no more bait is required for the fishing net.

What I should duly point out is that the acceptance of such a policy on the part of the newly-free states would not only lead them to be caught in the fishing net but also run counter to the great principle of self-reliance which the fighting people have already experienced and which has borne wonderful fruits.

The imperialist's designs are to bring the new-born states under their control.

It is crystal clear that the vicious U.S. imperialists render aid only when they can expect income many times as much as their outlay. Detailed data and figures showing this are included in the research document already submitted to this Seminar.

I deem it urgently necessary for all the peoples to be united in the struggle to protect their sovereignty and oppose imperialism and zionism. This is because we are fighting together against our common enemy.

I wholeheartedly support the struggles of the great Korean people and the heroic Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and its stooges and also support the struggle of the great Chinese people against imperialism and its stooges. We also heartily support the stubborn struggle of the Angolan people against the Portuguese imperialists, too.

From this rostrum I congratulate the resolutions of the Palestinian Arab People's Congress held in Jerusalem on August 26, 1963 to free their country from the fetters of imperialism and Zionism.

We resolutely denounce the intrigues of U.S. imperialism and Israel to appropriate the waters of the Arabian Jordan River.

We deem it a grave act of crime threatening the independence of the new-born nations in Asia and Africa that the U.S. offers atomic reactor to Israel according to the "Atom Agreement" concluded between U.S. imperialism and Israel.

We pay our respects to Radfan revolutionary fighters who are waging a death-defying struggle against British imperialism in the Southern part of occupied Arabia.

We also salute the struggle of the Indonesian people against Anglo-American Imperialists.

We support all revolutions which are now carried on or will be carried on against imperialism everywhere in the world.

We call upon all the peace-loving peoples and countries to render assistance to all revolutions economically, militarily and with manpower.

We resolutely condemn the so-called policy for maintaining the present dark situation which was framed up by the imperialists to hoodwink the peoples of various countries. We will actively inspire and encourage the peoples of various countries to keep up their struggle until they win complete victory.

Friends,

We wholeheartedly support all the just demands of the true fighters for ensuring the complete liberation of their people and uninterrupted progress.

We hope that together with vicious U.S. imperialism Israel will perish in the not distant future and we will be able to receive you in Palestine, our beloved motherland.

To achieve this end, we hope that all anti-imperialist fighters will avail themselves of all opportunities to convey to their peoples and governments the idea that Zionism is the worst symbol of European imperialism, American imperialism in particular. We call upon the peoples and states that love righteous peace and oppose imperialism and all forms of colonialism to sever their existing relations with Israel and ban its activities conducted through the ground, maritime and aerial means on all territories.

Our people have suffered and are still suffering from imperialist cancer. It is our hope, therefore that all newly-free peoples or newborn independent countries may be free from such pain as has befallen our people.

In conclusion, I would like to shout the following slogans with a feeling mingled with pain and hope:

Down with imperialism and old and new colonialism! Down with Israel, a base for imperialism and colonialism in the Middle East!

Down with the pro-imperialist, pro-colonialist and pro-Israeli traitors!

Long live the fighters opposing imperialism, colonialism and Israel!

## DACRUZ VIRIATO (Angola)

Being certain that I am expressing the feelings of all the patriots of Angola who are fighting for independence and the formation of a mighty and prosperous nation, I find it, a great joy for me, friends, to greet you. Allow me also to take this honourable occasion to salute and acclaim together with you the valiant people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea who have won a series of victories and exemplary successes under the guidance of their wise leader Marshal Kim Il Sung.

I deem it my duty lastly to thank the Asian Economic Bureau, which is actuated by unswerving devotion to our common cause, for its kind invitation to take part in this Seminar where I will certainly have an opportunity to study the vast and precious experiences of the brother countries of Asia in their struggle against imperialism and against their internal backward forces, in their struggle for the building of an independent national economy.

The experience of the Angolese people in their struggle for national independence has only provided another proof that the political problem is closely linked with the economic problem.

In effect, as the Angolese people resisted colonial repression, all the hackneyed ideological pretexts, under cover of which the colonialists camouflaged their domination, fell off and their real motives came to the light, namely, the motives of the seizure of all the resources of our country, exploitation of cheap labour, insured exportation of merchandise, capital and the "surplus" population.

In spite of the fact that the Portuguese empire was a sort of licensed hunting ground of international imperialism, Portugal itself, with a view to undertaking its colonial war and guarding, as far as possible, against the covetous desire of different imperialist powers, had to accept, on the one hand, already from the time of the start of the armed struggle of the Angolese people, more than 400 million dollars in the form of loan and investment from America, Britain and Japan and, on the other hand, agreed to the penetration on a larger scale into Angola of the capitals of America, West Germany, France, Belgium, and other countries. As a result, we have not only conducted to the reinforcement of the

“solidarity” of great imperialist powers with Portugal, and to the formation, in fact, of a sort of imperialist “front” opposed to our national-liberation movement, but also brought a certain disappointment to those compatriots of ours, who hoped for defeating the old colonialists entirely by relying on such rivalling imperialists.

In proportion to the intensified pillage of iron ore, diamonds, manganic ore and oil of our country, the forces of colonial repression against the Angolese people were invariably strengthened. Angola is indeed a typical case of collective imperialist exploitation.

On the other hand, by forming a veritable association of the capitals of Portugal, America, West Germany, Japan and South Africa, certain financial circles of Portugal have since some time ago been envisaging a pretentious “decolonisation” of our country.

In the course of our struggle for national-liberation, we have also realized that the imperialists, the supporters of “decolonisation” and those who praise the joint intervention of the socialist countries and great capitalist powers aimed at the so-called combat against under-development, do their best to hamper the unity of all our nationalist forces and above all obstruct the furtherance of the people’s revolution.

One of the tasks necessary for this furtherance of the revolution (a task which we have not yet been able to accomplish until now) would consist precisely in the solution of the economic problems of the peasant masses. Because by means of destruction through war of the labouring masses and their means of production, and by means of forced emigration, the colonialists sought to separate the producers of Angola from their appropriate external circumstances of existence, to lower the production activity of the masses, reduce their force and thus weaken the material base of our fighting forces.

In view of the lessons we have drawn above all from our failures, it seems evident to us that the solution, even in the course of the armed struggle, of the economic problems of the masses is one of the most indispensable and decisive forms of the practical application of the principle of self-reliance. And that is why we cannot but agree with this vital and revolutionary principle—the principle applicable not only in the economic upbuilding of the independent states, as shown here in the instructive debates of our Korean, Chinese and North Vietnamese friends, but also applicable in the course of the armed revolutionary struggle for national independence.



Our friends from South Vietnam have shown us how much the solution of the economic problems of the fighting masses has contributed to their victories.

We are coming to realize at our cost how the apparatus of neo-colonialism is being set up, to realize the transactions that were widely practiced in the past in Africa: namely, the consolidation of foreign economic force in our country, the seizure and control by foreign countries of the essential part of our resources and our economy, the strengthening of the ties linking up the colonies to the world market, the obstruction of all the movements of the proletarianized masses for organizing themselves and playing a role in the direction of the revolution, the control of the trade unions of the colony by workers formed at the metropolitan trade union school trained in the services rendered to the "social peace" of the bourgeoisie, the violent opposition to all tendency to overthrow the social relations of production now in force, the measured stimulation of the indigenous commercial petty bourgeoisie, giving patronage to the political and ideological representatives of the young local bourgeoisie and the traditional peasantry; the exaggerated accentuation of the historic role of the African "personality" who, according to the opinion of some people, has nothing to learn from the revolutionary experience of the anti-imperialist struggle of the world and of the class struggle and, instead, is bound to discover their own road for the economic and social reorganization of Africa, the fabrication, for putting on the scene when the time comes, of incompetent governors divorced from the masses, feeble, and devoted to the interests of the international exploiters.

I think, if you don't take into account the activities of contemporary revisionism you will not be able to point out sufficiently all the causes of neo-colonialism active in Africa.

Moreover, on this general basis, in our opinion, reposes the dramatic weakness of the young African states. The African states, in effect, are incapable of getting rid of their traditional backward structure, they remain fettered in general to monoculture, are almost adrift, left to the mercy of the minor fluctuations appearing in the world market, are incapable of absorbing the large expropriated and ruined masses who suffering from unemployment, which is not, in many cases, the direct result of a process of the formation of a national bourgeoisie and not the result of the accumulation and concentration of the national capital, but is, on the contrary, the result of the buying up of the most fertile lands by the foreign companies whose fabulous profits are ceaselessly

exported to the metropolitan countries of the capital. And it is the result of the speculative activities of the foreign banks and the result of the competition of the industrial products with the African handicraft products.

The ruling classes of our country, in fact lacking any economic foundation worth mentioning, are aware of their own incapability of feeding and socially promoting the masses who are heading for the state of new slavery. They talk about building the so-called "socialist" society through special ways. In my opinion, this method is probably nothing but a shameful acknowledgement of the fact that the bourgeoisie of Africa has no longer any progressive historical role to play as the ruling class.

Because of their lack of necessary funds, our young states fall deeper into the fetters of the subsidies and the pretentious "aid" and "assistance" granted by their former metropolitan powers, and by the latter's international Agencies—whether under the cloak of the United Nations or not—and controlled in reality by big international monopolies. This "aid" which is accompanied by the demand for a guarantee of "order" and "stability" in the country concerned amounts in fact to imparting gradually to the country a fascist character to turn it into a sharp tool of the international monopolies, and of the so-called national companies which authoritatively exploit or control the crop cultivation intended for exportation, and also into a tool of the newly-born bourgeoisie of bureaucratic, military or landowner origin. From this stage the violence and despotism of the state are opposed to all the progressive movements of the overwhelming majority of the nation, who put forward increasing demands for the transfer of the state in the hands of the toiling masses, the enforcement of a thorough-going agrarian reform, the riddance from the archaic techniques in the countryside, the creation of a genuine domestic market which assures the exchanges between agriculture and industry of the nation, and the undertaking of industrialisation which is principally not subjected to the capitals, to the technical personnel, raw materials and foreign markets.

I believe, a just solution of the problem of the state will be found in the very thing which will actually and definitely break the deadlock of the situation in Africa which, seen from the viewpoint of the masses, is lagging behind the material progress of the day. A state in the service of neo-colonialism or a state which really belongs to the toiling masses of the country? Because, if a certain African bourgeoisie succeeds in industrializing its country, it will seek expansion on Africa. It will pose, even

within the continent itself, the problem of the relations of dependence of markets implying conflicts of all sorts; and it (that bourgeoisie) will end by compromising with foreign imperialist powers for the economic redivision of our continent.

In my opinion, the reforms of methods of production and distribution, however deep-going they may be, cannot in themselves be a guarantee of a genuine social and economic modernisation of the African society. Because it seems to me that so long as the capitalist social relations of production continue to exist and predominate in our society, these relations, in their vigorous movement, will always and rapidly come to find groups or to form classes that, representing those relations, profit from the maintenance of the traditional backward structures and from those hundreds of methods and relations inherited from the colonial days, on the one hand, and necessarily ally themselves with the forces of the world reaction, on the other.

The recent alarming confirmation by the government circles of Africa of the gradual reduction of the prices of agricultural and natural raw materials, as well as the disappointment experienced by the under-developed countries at the world conference of commerce in Geneva—these confirmations, all underscoring the absolute dependence of the market of these raw materials on the market of industrial products, and all revealing the relative and absolute impoverishment of our peoples—these confirmations, in my opinion, place on the order of the day the conduct of the revolution of the masses to a successful conclusion in Africa.

I have well understood the successful experience in building an independent economy in China and Korea the toiling masses are the most important and most decisive factor in it.

But man is a concrete being; and he is a product of social relations to which man himself is subjected. And these relations are susceptible, whether they tie him up or develop him boundlessly, and therefore the masses are most important. And I am convinced that the masses of Africa will be fully capable of totally changing the appearance of their society, but this at least on a preliminary condition: on condition that they, the masses, are the protagonists of a thorough-going revolution, a revolution which will liquidate our backward social structures, will put an end to the feudal gangs where they still exist, will effectively emancipate the women; a revolution which will provide conditions for the children and young folks to be really prepared to carry out the demands

and tasks of their future; a revolution which will inspire the working masses with genuinely creative and heroic enthusiasm of those who, free from the regime of exploitation of man by man, will have the confidence that they are working for themselves.

A revolution, in short, which will accomplish the liberation of our country from the greatest calamities which ravage Africa: the mortal grip and enslavement by imperialism.

In fact, Africa possesses immense potentialities. But, in my opinion, it is not by possessing potentialities that a people practically and immediately embark on a new and difficult path; it is by making full use of the wealth and values created by labour and by utilizing their socially created capacities.

Because of all these reasons, I believe that the revolution is in full accord with the primordial and vital necessity of Africa.

Friends,

It is known that several fascist governments of South Africa have not succeeded, until now, in imposing on the United States the re-evaluation of the prices of South African gold, because it will evidently damage the authority of the American dollar. But so far as the independent states of Africa, for example, do not get out of the situation of debtors of dollars, or the situation of recipients of the "aid" and "assistance" from the American and British imperialists, can we ever believe seriously in a decisive aid of independent Africa for the liberation of our brothers of South Africa? The Southern part of Africa still remains under the overt and arrogant yoke of imperialism. Is not this fact itself an evidence of the dangerous weakness of the independence of the African states?

Is it really necessary for us to look for military bases of the imperialists in the towns, for example, of Dakar and Freetown, when we are witnessing that South Rhodesia, South Africa, South-west Africa, Mozambique and Angola are not only big military bases, but are also political, economic and manpower bases of the imperialists?

Friends,

The successes of the fraternal peoples of Asia are actually our own successes, and the successes of the African peoples are also the successes of the Asian peoples. The successes of the Asian peoples weaken our common enemies, further encourage the African peoples and can offer them highly valuable experience.

We now find ourselves at a great turning point of history, a turning point where imperialism is retreating irremediably, not because of our appeal for justice and peace, but because of the revolutionary pressure of the peoples hitherto enslaved and humiliated, and because of the creation and growth of the economic might of these peoples.

And that is why we salute the Korean people who, with the spirit of Chullima, are waging a tireless struggle against U.S. imperialism and for the reunification of their country.

We also salute the valiant people of South Vietnam who will certainly and soon hoist the immortal banner of Dien-Bien-Phu over the heroic city of Saigon.

We support the just cause of the Indonesian people with regard to the neo-colonialist Federation of Malaysia.

We salute all the fraternal peoples of our dear Africa who, in diversified forms and in different measures and with the exemplary tenacity of a Ringue Abel, continue their combat, either for national independence or for its consolidation, or for economic independence.

We support the fraternal people of Mali (directed by the honourable figure of President Modibo Kenita) who advance with no mystification and no demagoguery, loyal to the supreme interests of the Africa of the Peoples, along the path of the consolidation of their independence and their independent economic upbuilding.

We salute our brothers of Japan who are fighting for the disarmament of the imperialists by means of the revolutionary arming of the popular masses.

We support the struggle of our Palestinian brothers for their return to their free and dignified fatherland.

We support the efforts which China is making for the realization of the second conference of Bandung, formulating our good wishes that the second Bandung lead to measures effective for an conducive to facilitating the economic construction of the Afro-Asian countries, on the basis of the principle of self-reliance prior to any other, and on the basis of extension of economic co-operation and mutual assistance among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

We support all your efforts, fellow delegates, to ensure that this Seminar achieve brilliant success which the peoples of Asia and Africa have the right to expect from you.

Thank you.

## A.M. KHEIR (Sudan)

The Second Economic Seminar which is being held in the heroic city of Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is an important occasion for us to exchange views on our common problems in the economic fields, strengthen our solidarity, unity and friendship in the struggle against our common enemy and to learn from the inspiring and correct policy laid down by the Korean Workers' Party led by Chairman Kim Il Sung for building Korea into a fully developed socialist state by basically adopting the policy of self-reliance. As a revolutionary fighter of our country, I sincerely thank the Asian Economic Bureau for providing us with this golden opportunity. At the same time I express our sincere gratitude for our Korean brothers for their great concern, hospitality and excellent preparation for this meeting to be crowned with full success.

The basic theme of this meeting is covering, precise and exactly satisfies our present requirements in exploring ways and means to correctly solve our economic problems, provide a guiding line for the struggle of our peoples for building firm foundations for independent economy free from all vestiges of old and neo-colonialism and for the close co-operation of our people on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. As you all know we come from Africa where our people have overthrown the old colonialists in thirty-four countries and declared their political independence. In these countries the people are by no means economically and culturally independent. On the other hand our people are still fighting in ten countries and territories under the British, three under the French, in seven under the Portuguese, in three under the Spanish, and in one under the white racist of South Africa, to gain their independence. The old colonialists are not yet dead and still they ride roughshod on the people in twenty-four countries and territories of our continent.

During the last decade the phrase "neo-colonialism" has become widely known among many independent Asian and African countries. This is due to the fact that after defeating the old colonialists, they found out, far from being liberated, they had to continue the fight against a new form of colonialism particularly in the economic field. They laid more stress on this struggle while continuing the struggle against old

colonialism at the same time. Experience in Africa has shown that the main promoter of neo-colonialism is the United States of America and that its main tool to carry out its policy of neo-colonialism in Africa and the so-called other underdeveloped countries is "aid" and "assistance". U.S. imperialism uses this economic form of "aid" and "assistance" either directly through bilateral agreements, or indirectly, through multilateral agreements with institutions under the control of world monopoly capital in which the U.S.A. has the biggest share. The aim of U.S. imperialism is to bring under its control the whole of Africa, Asia and Latin America and to transform these continents economically, politically and militarily into dependence. Thus neo-colonialism is an integral part of U.S. imperialist strategy for the eradication of the national-liberation movement and for world domination.

Newly independent African countries are carefully selected by the U.S.A. before they receive the so-called American aid and assistance. The conditions under which the U.S.A. gives her "aid" and "assistance" vary from one country to the other, depending on the concrete situation, that is to say, its economic and military importance to the U.S. strategy. The most common conditions laid down by the U.S.A. are the following:—

(a) The U.S.A. to control and administer the programmes and funds extended under the "aid" agreement. As a result of this the recipient country has to accept a large number of so-called experts and technicians who penetrate deep into all government organs. Usually these persons enjoy political immunity as if they belong to the diplomatic corps. This provides them with all necessary facilities to conduct all kinds of subversive activities.

(b) A government and administration on which to rely for the "preservation of law and order". This means that the government in power must not allow the development of a strong anti-imperialist movement in the country. Thus they increase and strengthen the tools of suppression and introduce new forms for this purpose.

(c) A rather strong stratum of the intelligentsia who use their capabilities to defend the American "schemes of development" ideologically.

(d) The recipient country must protect private investments against all possible nationalization or government takeover.

The conditions described are more or less general; there may be others depending on the concrete situation in each country. However where the people do not easily accept direct American "aid" and "assistance", the U.S.A. uses the United Nations to trap the newly independent African countries. Today the United Nations and its specialised agencies have become some of the most important instruments of American imperialism in its penetration of Africa.

Under the item "International Economic Aid to Selected Under-developed Countries", the statistical year-book of the U.N. for 1960, lists 26.6 million U.S. dollars as given to Sudan.

From the International Development Fund the Sudan received 13 million U.S. dollars. From the International Bank, 74 million U.S. dollars were obtained by the Sudan until September 1961 according to the World Almanac for 1962. If we add up these items we arrive at the total of 113.6 million U.S. dollars.

As for military aid from the United States the Sudan received under the heading of "technical co-operation" 1.3 million dollars in 1959 in less than one year after the military Coup d'état. In 1960, the Sudan received under "Defence and Spcial aid" the amount of 19.5 million U.S. dollars. In the same year, according to the International Co-operative Alliance the Sudan received as military "aid" under the item "maintenance of Defence" more than 3 million U.S. dollars. If we add up these items we get a total of 33.8 million dollars.

This in addition to the amount of 34 million U.S. dollars obtained from the German Federal Republic as loans. From Britian the Sudan obtained loan as well. All this not counting investments by the U.S.A., Italy, France as well as other imperialist countries. Some of the results of this, were the following:

According to Sudanese news papers published on the 4th of October 1960, the number of American exports in the Sudan under U.S.-Sudan Aid agreement was 79. The breakdown figures of experts working in the various fields were given as: 10 experts for technical assistance, 3 in the Ministry of Information, 17 in the Ministry of Education, 22 in the Ministry of Agriculture, 2 in the Ministry of Survey, 14 in the Ministry of Works, 3 for rural water and land exploitation, 1 in the Ministry of Public Health and 5 in the Ministry of Animal Health.



According to information released until the end of 1961, the number of experts coming into the Sudan under the United Nations flag had grown to over one hundred. By now they probably number more than two hundred. These operate in the following fields in our country: (1) Expansion of railways through the International Bank. (2) Expansion of roads. (3) Irrigation schemes. (4) In the leather, canning and other industries. (5) In soil improvement for grazing lands and research related to animal husbandry. (6) In education. (7) In setting up libraries. (8) In training medical personnel. (9) In the labour movement, under the cover of training workers. (10) In the Ministry of Finance under the cover of "advisers". (11) In the extraction of ores containing uranium. (12) In financing the private sector of industry. (13) And above all, in helping to set up the seven year development plan of the whole country and to supervise its fulfilment.

Foreign investments and foreign capital are declared under the complete protection of the state and many facilities were accorded to make their activity easier in penetrating and squeezing the blood of our people.

Any mention of U.S. imperialism in our newspapers today is officially forbidden by the government. And U.S. cultural centres are operating freely in the country.

The state owned Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial banks are using U.S. money and have become agents of U.S. monopoly capital in exploiting our people.

When Lumumba was besieged and asked for foreign military assistance, the Sudan government closed the border with the Congo and declared that no planes would be allowed to proceed to Congo without permission from the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Where it is difficult for U.S. imperialism to penetrate peacefully, it resorts to force and military methods to overthrow governments and establish dictatorial or semi-dictatorial regimes led by her stooges to carry on her plans. Where it is preferable for this or that reason it resorts to the United Nations for economic or military intervention or both? The case of the Congo in this respect is a glaring example. But in spite of this some people place great hopes on the United Nations and its assistance not only to free our brothers from the yoke of colonialism but also to help those who gained independence to construct their countries and build a new life for themselves. This is nothing but closing one's eyes to facts, reality and life itself. We know that by pooling their

monopoly capital in the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, the imperialists and colonialists, hide the source of that capital, and thus make it less frightening to the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This was well explained by Berthold Beitz, representing the West German Krupp Trust, when he at a conference of international financiers in San Francisco at the beginning of 1957 that "it was necessary for international monopoly capital to join hands and to form an international cartel and finance institutions because such capital would lose its nationality and thereby its political identity". This explanation was also provided by the former President Kennedy of the United States when he said in his address to the U.N. General Assembly of the United Nations in September 1961 that ". . . development can become a co-operative enterprise . . .".

The main organization affiliated to the United Nations which are concerned with the so-called aid, assistance and loans are the International Bank, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association. In the International Bank, not mentioning other imperialist powers, the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom control 42.38 of the total number of votes. In the International Finance Corporation both control 44.22 per cent of the total votes. In the International Monetary Fund both powers control about 38 per cent of the total number of votes. The situation being like this in these organizations, it becomes either pure and simple stupidity or political ignorance to say that the biggest imperialist powers pool their capital in such institutions with the mere purpose of helping the newly independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The U.S.A. and the United Kingdom and other imperialist powers spend annually more than 3,500 million U.S. dollars on so-called aid and assistance to newly independent countries in Asia and Africa and other places, not because they are really interested in helping them; but because the new situation demands such method to continue the enslavement of the peoples of other countries. The nature of imperialism has not in the least changed nor will it change.

Mr. Chairman, brothers and friends,

The Korean Workers' Party has correctly stressed that "economic independence is the basis for political independence. Economic dependence on Foreign forces entails political dependence on those forces. Economic

subordination leads to political subordination. It further stated "the nations economically dependent on foreign imperialists cannot be essentially free from political subjugation and plunder by the imperialists, even if they attain nominal, political independence. Only those countries that have independent national economy can establish economic ties with other countries on the principle of complete equality and mutual benefit and can come out in the international arena as full fledged independent countries enjoying equal rights among all other big and small nations of the world". This is a correct policy proved by facts and life. Economic independence cannot be achieved without self-reliance. That is to say reliance on the nation's resources, the unlimited power, intelligence, initiative and will of the broad masses of the people. The policy of self-reliance has nothing in common with egoism, national chauvinism or sectarianism. It is a genuine expression of the deep belief in the wisdom, energy, and the creative power of the masses. It is an expression of the correct belief that man decides everything and he is the maker of history. To this truth the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Korea both give a live and inspiring example. We sincerely wish and we are fully confident that more and more countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world will follow this glorious and correct road.

During the last few years in Africa, there has been a keen desire from the part of many independent countries to unite, to co-ordinate economic planning and to pool efforts either among a group of countries of the genuine aspiration of the African people to combat neo-colonialism and imperialism and to seek ways and means to stop the plunder of African wealth and resources by world monopoly capital. But this desire from the part of independent African countries in addition to the efforts being made for unity and co-ordinated planning on all scales, cannot be separated under any circumstances from political struggle in general and from the struggle against neo-colonialism in particular. A regional organization of this form or that may be set up in one part of Africa or the other or on a continental scale or otherwise. But without being completely free from all imperialist influence, the influence of neo-colonialism and that of world monopoly capital, little or nothing can be achieved in the fight to free African countries from imperialist economic domination and plunder.

Dear Friends,

The African people who gained their independence are increasingly realising the necessity for fighting against imperialism, old and neo-colonialism particularly in the economic field to complete that independence. While the slogan of "fight against neo-colonialism" is being raised higher and higher in the emerging countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, certain people among the revisionists have come out with a complete set of theories and slogans which they are propagating in these areas to divert the people from the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. They spread the fallacy that disarmament is an important guarantee to allocate the necessary funds to do away with the state of economic backwardness of those areas. They allege that the main task of the national-liberation movement today are the economic tasks in the newly independent countries, thus separating political struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism from the struggle for economic independence. Instead of calling for a world-wide united front of all revolutionary progressive and all anti-imperialist forces to fight against U.S. imperialism and world monopoly capital, they call for peaceful competition with them. Instead of advocating self-reliance among newly emerging countries they advocate dependence on their own assistance and on that of the United Nations which is manipulated by the United States. Indeed, the modern revisionists have degenerated to the positions of slaves of U.S. ruling class, U.S. imperialism and world reaction. We would like to tell these people that nobody who sailed with U.S. imperialism in the same boat, has yet reached the shore of safety and everlasting peace. The angry-mountain-like waves of the peoples of the world will definitely overpower your boat, and you, together with the "gods of plague", will be buried in the bottom of the ocean. Nothing will remain of you but negative examples.

Finally, in conclusion, I would like to express our deep gratitude for the Bureau for providing us with this opportunity to take part in the deliberations of this Seminar and to better know our Asian brothers. The lavish hospitality, the exceptional kindness and warm hearts of our Korean brothers in addition to the sweet memory of Pyongyang and the international proletarian spirit of the Korean people will forever remain in the heart of our hearts. We wish the Korean people, the Korean Workers' Party and Chairman Kim Il Sung the best of health and ever more successes in all fields on national and international scale.

## KAYIHURA MICHEL (Rwanda)

Every meeting of the peoples of Asia and Africa is a stimulation to hopes. Hopes built firmly on the common interests of our peoples who have suffered from the same colonialism and who are still fighting against it, against imperialism and neo-colonialism. As a matter of fact, such meetings furnish opportunities for strengthening the Afro-Asian solidarity and unite the forces of struggle against the common enemy.

The Afro-Asian solidarity has already sounded the knell of colonialism in many parts of our two continents. And it is for this reason that, on behalf of the Party I represent—Rwanda National Union—and in my own name I wish the present Asian Economic Seminar full success, to which the African delegates have been invited.

It is beyond doubt that this Seminar will make a great contribution to the liquidation of colonialism and its survivals. And I would like to thank the organisers of this Seminar, and I am particularly grateful to Mme. Gunawardhana, President of the Bureau of the Economic Seminar. It is of particular significance that we have chosen the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as the venue of this Seminar. It is on this land that the heroic and legendary struggle against U.S. imperialism and their allies have been waged.

We extend our greetings to the valiant Korean people who have achieved these brilliant victories and realised national construction in a spectacular way under the brilliant leadership of their government and their Party.

These successes of the North Korean people constitute a solid guarantee for the liberation of South Korea and the reunification of the country.

The present Economic Seminar has before itself a vital question for the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. As a matter of fact, without economic independence national sovereignty has no significance at all. On the other hand, the building of an independent national economy presupposes the liquidation of colonialism and the extermination of neo-colonialism.

The present Seminar must, therefore, proceeding from the target it has set, make an effective contribution to wiping out the apartheid regime of South Africa, to liberating South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, the so-called Portuguese Guinea under an impenitent colonialism, and to supporting the nationalists of the Congo and Rwanda who are struggling against the most ferocious sort of colonialism.

South Vietnam, South Korea and other countries fighting against imperialism need full support of the present Seminar.

The same is the case with the efforts of the Chinese People's Republic to recover her territory of Taiwan which has been robbed by U.S. imperialism. We should not forget to take a proper position against Zionism, for the rehabilitation of the Palestinaian refugees to their homeland.

Here, ladies and gentlemen, I am going to dwell on some aspects of neo-colonialism in Rwanda and its subsequent effects on the economy of the country.

The present rulers of Rwanda are puppets of Belgian colonialism that has brought them to power in order to maintain its seizure on the country. Behind Belgian colonialism there lingers the menacing shadow of U.S. imperialism which keeps a jealous eye on this country for strategic reasons (it is situated in the heart of Africa) thinking of using it as a springboard for the rule over the Congo. The government of Rwanda is unpopular and tyrannical. It maintains its power with the exercise of terrorism by the forces of an army which is financed by the imperialists. Belgian officers and soldiers take care of the framing and management of the army.

The tragic outcome of this neo-colonialist administration is as follows: a country torn up by incessant troubles, the gravity of which is illustrated by the massacres of December 1963 and January 1964 which took a toll of 20 thousand victims, a ruined economy and 400 thousand refugees in the bordering countries.

The origin of such a situation goes back to 1959, when the independence movement started. It is the Party of Rwanda National Union (UNAR) which has given rise to the swing by claiming the country's emancipation.

The Belgian administration, having understood the popular support of the UNAR, resorted to the traditional double-faced operation: persecution on the one hand, and creation of rival parties on the other.

Thus the PARMEHUTU ("Bahutu Emancipation Party") was set up among others. It receives full support of the authorities in whose moral and financial support the UNAR has no share. It was due to such a situation and due to the immunity brought forth by it that the Parmehutu could cause the sanguinary disturbance of November 1959.

Every member of the UNAR is pursued. Persecution has been launched on a large scale: villages burned down, houses demolished to the ground, families wholly massacred. Prisons are packed with patriots and hundreds of thousands of Rwandans are living in exile and find refuge in the neighbouring countries: Uganda, Tanganyika, the Congo and Burundi.

The issue of the troubles in Rwanda was brought to the international instance upon the wish of the UNAR and in March 1960 the United Nations sent a field investigation party. This mission made a report, the outline of which coincided with the theses of the UNAR:— general amnesty to the political prisoners, reconciliation of the political parties, withdrawal of the Belgian troops and holding of elections following the restoration of order and peace in the country.

The Belgian authorities gave no heed to these recommendations and enforced elections, the results of which could be foretold under such circumstances of arbitrariness and violence. The United Nations cast doubts on the validity of this consultation and demanded them to hold the coming elections under the supervision of a U.N. Commission. The Commission arrived in June, 1961, amnesty was extended to millions of political prisoners and the leaders of the UNAR had the possibility of taking part in the election campaign. But, prior to it, that is, in January, 1961, the Belgian administration made up a homogenous autonomous government of the Parmehutu Party which cooked up a prearranged coup d'état and proclaimed the Republic. The elections of September 25, 1961 were preceded and accompanied by punitive expeditions, wholesale slaughters and countless assaults. The elections were enforced with the decoration of flames and terror, and the Parmehutu, already in power, snatched a sanguinary victory.

The United Nations Commission presented a report which threw into relief the atmosphere of uneasiness and terror which prevailed during the pre-election period. The United Nations could not remedy the state of affairs, but it nevertheless exerted itself on bringing about a national reconciliation.

Discussions were held on this question in New York and the delegates of Senegal, Liberia, Guinea and Mexico were designated to do their good offices. An agreement was worked out and signed, under the terms of which the UNAR was to receive two important ministerial portfolios, two State secretariats, a post in the Refugee Commissariat, two prefectures and two sub-prefectures. The government of the Parmehutu accorded the UNAR the Ministry of Health and that of Stock-breeding, only to remove them a few months later. The agreement on reconciliation was gone. Thousands of refugees were not repatriated, democracy was trampled underfoot, law and justice were fooled, and the situation remained explosive.

The tragic events of December 1963 and January 1964 came to prove it. These events which were of extreme seriousness, cost 20,000 people their lives men, women and children, and the world press stigmatised the horror of these massacres which were a veritable genocide.

Here are facts. It is reported that hundreds of thousands of people, who left their country to escape the blood-thirsty tyranny of the Kayibanda government, have so far received no aid from their country, and until now the Rwanda government paid no attention to proposing any solution acceptable for their problems. These refugees have for many years been in material destitution as serious as the agony with which they are looking forward to their future. As there is no other solution for their problem, they are obliged to return to their country.

Using this irruption as a pretext, the Rwanda government began to retaliate leaders, members and sympathizers of the UNAR who were remaining in the country.

Twenty-six leaders of the opposition parties, UNAR and RADER, were put in jail and then executed. Among the victims were all members of the Committee of the UNAR, the former UNAR ministers of the coalition government, the editors of the Unité (organ of the UNAR), the president and the secretary of the LADER (Democratic Assembly of Rwanda), opposition members of the Parliament, and scores of combatants. And their executions were carried out without any trial.

Rwanda soldiers refused to form a platoon for the execution and thereupon three Belgian officers undertook to carry out the infamous task.



President Kayibanda has personally ordered the extermination of the members of the UNAR in general, the ethnic group "tutsi" in particular. Moreover, the president of the Republic accorded full powers to the prefects. Even ministers and parliamentary members went to their own districts to supervise the reprisals. What happened is beyond description. The region that suffered most of all was the Prefecture of Aikonaoro, where one could see in a day from 8,000 to 14,000 persons being slaughtered. Even unhappy people who took refuge in a Protestant temple could not escape the hands of the murderers. The president of the Republic and his ministers personally went to the spots to ascertain whether the "word" was going well.

Some 4,000 persons found refuge in the Catholic mission of Cyanika. But not for a long time, for the Minister of Agriculture issued orders to the missionaries to expel the fugitives. Chased by the National Guards, most of them were killed on the way.

In the region of Bugesera, the village of Nyamata which is resided by refugees who settled down there since the events of 1959 and has the total of 7,000 families living in, has been bombarded by mortar and razed.

Minister "Otto Rusingizandekwe" has organized a butchery of countless people in the prefecture of Cyangugu; 180 hostages were shot pointblank with machine-guns in the wagons on which they were transferred to the rice plantation of the Nyungwe forests. In the region of Nyaruguru, children were put in cages and thrown into the river Akanyarus alive. The rivers Nyabarao and Rusizi carried away hundreds of corpses, presenting the spectacle of a gloomy funeral for cameramen and cinematographers. On many occasions, Rwanda soldiers ventured to go into the interior of Burundi to perpetrate their criminal acts there.

The Prime Minister of Burundi protested against their provocations and did not hesitate to call President Kayibanda "African Nero".

Before this terrible scene, faced with a neo-colonialist government responsible for the genocide, can any one still ask himself if the economy of this country is equilibrated? No, the Rwanda government does not care to look after the people who have been spared from the repression. But it takes great care to give permissions of landing to the American airplanes transporting arms and troops to crush at Kivu the people's revolution led by the nationalists of the N.L.C.

The economy of Rwanda has been dislocated: the production of coffee, the only crop bringing profits, which was 10,000 tons under the regime, has dropped to 4,000 tons. The mines are still exploited colonial by the foreign corporations, and foreign trade is also left under the control of foreign companies.

The wholesale trade is also monopolised by foreigners; the indigenous merchants are only engaged in retail sale.

The only co-operative of purchase and sale is also in the hands of foreigners: Catholic missionaries and Swiss capitals.

Although there is the basis of raw materials to a certain degree and large manpower, industrialisation has not yet been undertaken.

No agrarian reform is envisaged and planned farming is entirely neglected.

The primary, secondary, professional and higher education is also monopolised by the Catholic missionaries.

The living standard of the working masses have fallen so low that they cannot even afford elementary essentials of living. This is due to the economic unbalance characterized by the fact that agricultural products are sold at dirt cheap prices while the prices of manufactured goods are raised very high by the foreign monopolies.

Under the advice of the imperialist technicians, the Rwanda government is marching along the road of suicide by cutting off the economic ties with Burundi. Burundi has the only port and airport of the old territory of the Belgian tutelage.

Rwanda that has already taken part in the UAM and joined the Common Market of Europe, will surely become more and more dependent on the imperialist powers, after this separation from Burundi.

In conclusion, the Rwanda problem calls for an urgent and adequate solution. This concerns the honour of Africa and Asia, the peoples aspiring for peace and liberty. To by-pass this tragedy or pretend to be disinterested in it will mean preparing for bloodsheds of tomorrow.

The organisation of the African Unity has already taken up the question of Rwanda refugees. The solution of that question lies in putting right the political situation of Rwanda through the liquidation of neo-colonialism. An energetic action by the U.N. would bring about peace in Rwanda.

By giving co-operation to the Rwanda nationalists for the reinstatement of their country, for the restoration of the rights of the Rwanda people to choose their government freely, the Asian and African countries will contribute towards saving the people in distress and liquidating a chronic hot-bed of neo-colonialism in the centre of Africa.

Then, only then, will Rwanda be able to build an independent national economy, effectively fight against imperialism and establish a beneficial co-operation with other free and progressive nations.

Long live the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples!

Down with imperialism and neo-colonialism!

KAYIHURA MICHEL,  
*Vice-President of the UNAR.*

## ABOUBAKAR ABDOU (Niger)

On behalf of the people of Niger and the SAWABA party, I salute all the organizers of this seminar and all those who have willingly brought here their modest contribution.

Today Korea is building up a new society, because she could deal a resolute blow to the American neo-colonialism. But many countries in Asia and Africa are still under its yoke. For us in Niger, the situation is quite different.

In fact, since December 18, 1950, the people of Niger, deprived of all their rights, of all the public and private liberty, have been harboring resentment against the torturers of the puppet government which the French army continuously imposes on them. December 18, 1958 is the day when the French imperialists usurped power for their puppets and this only sharpened the will of all the honest Niger people to put an end to this painful comedy. But there is an ever more serious thing, and it is that since the afore-mentioned day nearly all our people have experienced a veritable, increasingly ignominious Calvary under the scourge of French military occupation. Today, nobody in Niger entertains illusions about the personages who govern our unhappy country. All sections of the population suffer from the disastrous effects of an anti-popular policy which the puppets of Niger are pursuing with such a zeal as is only comparable with their consciencelessness and preparedness for making fortunes at the sacrifice of the working people. The living standards of all social strata have been seriously deteriorated, while a handful of profiteers are rolling in wealth. All the colonialist and feudal exactions and all forms of oppression have again come into operation, while our country has been turned into a concentration camp controlled by the French soldiers.

The best sons of our fatherland are deported to the Sahara region where French officers subject them to the whole gamut of privations and all forms of sufferings. The leaders of the workers are arrested preventively or relegated to the fortified camps where they are made to die of hunger.

Comrades, the official aspect of Niger at present is hideous. All the colonial and feudal exactions have been restored:

- Arbitrary arrests and detentions of SAWABA leaders in the country without warrants and without offences.

- Systematic imprisonment of all the enlightened or courageous elements of the population, dismissal, discharge or suspension of the functionaries suspected of being sympathetic with the SAWABA party.
- Prohibition on the movement without authorization of thousands of citizens in and outside the country.
- Arbitrary suppression of subsidies to the students and periodical police assaults on the educational establishments.
- Despoilation of the lands of the peasants in favour of feudal landlords.
- Abuse of customs imposed upon the small merchants of Africa in favour of the commercial enterprises of France.
- Obligatory cultivation of crops to satisfy the French, exporters, etc. . . .

Comrades, such is in brief the hideous aspect of neo-colonialism in our country. Before these facts, is it still necessary to say that the toiling masses are aspiring after a radical change? Unanimously, they turn their eyes full of expectations towards the SAWABA party which 5 years of repression could only make look greater to their eyes. They know that the distress which is now tormenting them can only be removed by the SAWABA party and that the party has never yielded to the demands of the colonialists. The party alone can lead the Niger nation towards the satisfaction of their profound aspirations.

Comrades, today in Cameroon, in the Congo, Vietnam and in South Africa, thousands of patriots are fighting heroically against the same dummies imposed upon the peoples by world imperialism. Nothing can block the course of history. The revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will win the final victory. The impetuous current of the revolution which is sweeping across these regions is irresistible. The people of Niger and their party SAWABA will triumph over the reactionary clique of Diori whatever plots the latter may hatch.

In conclusion, we reaffirm our support to all the national-liberation movements and to all those who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the establishment of a lasting peace among peoples.

Niger is nominally independent since August 1960. But in fact, it remains under the political, diplomatic, economic, financial and cultural domination of France. Nothing can be undertaken in any field in our

country without the authorisation of the former coloniser who compiles the national budget and supervises through his technical advisors the ministries and the public services whose directors are French dignitaries.

Under such circumstances, as you see, economically Niger is totally subjugated as is the case with many African states that have gained nominal independence. It is necessary for all the Nigerian patriots to foresee from now on concrete and correct measures for doing away with all the economic control of imperialist powers on the entire Nigerian economy.

In order to attain such a national objective, the democratic state which our Party envisages to establish must effectively control foreign trade. It must monopolise importing and exporting trades, because no foreign company knows better than it the immediate and future requirements of the working people of the country. It shall employ all its energy to speed up the economic development. Consequently, its control must be extended also to home trade. It shall enable and encourage the setting up of national commercial companies for the sale of imported goods. It shall also have its own marketing shops. And these should belong exclusively to the state or to co-operatives created by the state. All should be subordinated to the prosperity of the nation. Its economic development alone can ensure a decent living standard to the masses of the people. . . . The realisation of this pressing objective demands the cancel of all the unequal agreements and the return to the state control of Niger of regions belonging to the OCRS; because the immense wealth of these regions are increasingly coveted by all the imperialists. It is no secret that the "SHELL" possesses at present over 533,000 square kilometres of concession in the northern part of our country where an oil field has been discovered, and that the French Atomic Energy Office more than 130,000 square kilometres in the North-eastern part of our country.

Before these facts which are characterised by a deliberate national economic surrender by the puppet rulers of Niger, it rests with the people to take specific actions for a real economic construction of the nation. All the living forces in the country shall rally around this immediate task. At the same time the development of home trade shall be improved and rationalised. There exist in Niger many domestic circuits. But the enormous difficulties facing them diminish their efficiency and it is an imposing necessity to create them anew. Faced with this problem which brooks no delay, it is necessary to create State Transport Companies which will facilitate the circulation of products among different regions.

Economic construction of Niger implicates extension of commercial relations with the African countries. It is of absolute necessity to supply the demands of our own African continent before exporting our products to big international markets.

Niger, however, shall trade also with any state that respects our sovereignty.

Niger shall encourage no private farming except small farms which belong to the national enterprises. Our economy should be given a definite orientation towards socialist development. For natural reasons, therefore, the state of Niger should nationalise all the banks and step by step commercial companies existing on its soil.

Niger is blessed with immense underground resources. It has among others deposits of iron, copper, tin, wolfram, uranium, platinum, oil, etc. It is therefore essential for the people of Niger to work out at an earliest date a juristic program for the exploitation and on-the-spot transformation of our mineral resources. That will enable a speedy and systematic industrialisation of the country. Our Party has worked out this plan and submitted it to the entire Niger patriots. It particularly looks forward to the exploitation of the most remunerative underground resources (iron, tin, copper, oil, etc.) and on-the-spot processing of some of these products.

Niger should also strive for development and rational exploitation of its agricultural resources. To achieve them it is necessary to go forward to a large-scale agrarian reform wherever necessary, particularly in the river valleys and cultivated basins. Our present agricultural system is based on small-scale private farming. Because of the primitive nature of the tools the peasants do not secure high yields; thus our agriculture inevitably remains in an underdeveloped state. Therefore, any progress in the agricultural field presupposes an agrarian reform of socialist nature to be completed with a systematic co-operative organisation.

This reform will later lead to collectivisation of agriculture. Thus, on the basis of a political mobilisation of our peasants we will gradually come to carrying out the socialisation of agricultural production of Niger. We envisage following measures for this purpose:

- Fair repartition of arable land on the one hand and an agricultural enactment which will make it possible to carry out rational forest and water conservancy projects to contribute to an effective development of agriculture.

- Farming on a co-operative basis will certainly demand the setting up of co-operatives for the distribution of farming machines and tools. On the other hand, the collectivisation of agriculture can only ensure a decent life to the working peoples.

However, development of the farming and that of the stock-breeding must go hand in hand. The Niger livestock is one of the most important potential wealth for us, and it is urgent to develop the livestock farming in a rational way. This will necessitate in big stock-breeding regions a large-scale reform, particularly the regrouping of stock-breeders into co-operatives, which will make it possible to ensure the Niger stock-breeders sufficient and rich grazing grounds, and, above all, water.

- It will facilitate the protection of the cattle from severe epidemics.
- The creation of stock-farms in conformity with the specific conditions of our country will considerably promote the raising of red goats, the skin of which is particularly appreciated on international markets.

Other kinds of animals would also bring the country an enormous income, should we adopt a correct program of the distribution of drinking water, of the development of pastures and of a rational exploitation of meat and dairy products.

Planned work of agricultural co-operatives and stock-farms will enable us to co-ordinate the interests of stock-farming and that of agriculture. However, Niger has also great problems to tackle particularly in fishery and tourism.

For the protection and growth of our fauna, the setting up of a certain organisation is necessary, such as the hunting clubs which will map out a plan and ensure the hunting practises and the marketing of the game.

For fishery the setting up of fishers' co-operatives will encourage increased output and also the marketing of these products inside and outside the country.

Being a large agricultural country, Niger must have the facilities of on-the-spot processing of these products. It must particularly increase the number of oil works for processing on the spot great quantities of pea-nuts and ensure the country-wide consumption and commercialisation on an international scale. It must also lay a foundation of the textile industry



which will process the cotton products to meet the needs of the population, and must envisage exportation of the surplus products. The refineries processing sugar cane abundant in several regions shall supply the country with a sufficient amount of sugar for consumption for the population.

It is necessary to instal meat shops in various regions of the country. A rational development of animal husbandry has every chance of success in Niger.

The State of Niger should encourage and develop the Morocco-leather, textile, tapestry-making, basket-making, hat-making pottery and jewellery industries. And all these manufacturing trades should be grouped into co-operatives. More up-to-date and more remunerative styles shall be carried into practice.

Economic development of Niger being of prime importance, the State of Niger must, in co-operation with its neighbouring countries, fit up all the water channels for irrigation, and build projects of powerful hydro-electric power stations in such a way as to substantiate the practice of an up-to-date and rational fishing.

The network of highways should be improved considerably and railways be constructed throughout the country. And arteries of economic value should be asphalted. The means of transport must belong to the State, which presupposes an effective nationalisation of this sector which now belongs to foreign companies. The national companies should be set up taking into account the economic realities of our country.

The young Niger industry must take into consideration, for its development, its own means, its experiences acquired by the peasants in this domain and, above all, the essential requirements of the people. The existing industries and the indigenous means should be taken into account for less costly development. For example, we must look forward to the utilisation of solar energy.

In conclusion, in order to develop the Niger economy, we must, in the first place, liberate the nation from the neo-colonialist oppression in its political, economic and military forms, and rally the people around a popular program in conformity with the aspirations of the working masses.

## **WADADA MUSANI (Uganda)**

Join me in congratulating our Zanzibar comrade for the successful January revolution that was carried out by the people of Zanzibar and which brought an end of feudal oppression and ushered in a new era of national reconstruction and development of the Zanzibar people's economy.

It gives me great pleasure to address you again I would here wish to speak to you on the economic situation of Uganda as it exists today and as the present government inherited it from colonial rule.

### **Background of Uganda**

Uganda is a country of 94,000 square miles and has a population of between 6 million and 7 million people. About 72,000 people are Indian immigrants (very few of whom have taken up Uganda citizenship), about 12,000 are from the various imperialist countries and about 10,000 others from different parts of the world.

Uganda attained her independence on 9th October, 1962. The government now governing the country is a coalition government. It consists of the Uganda People's Congress and Kabaka Yekka (the King only), a traditional monarchist party. The government is headed by Prime Minister Milton Obote who is also the leader of the Uganda People's Congress.

In the North Uganda is bordered by the Sudan, in the East by Kenya, in the West by the Congo, Rwanda and Urundi and in the South across lake Victoria by Tanganyika.

Uganda is surrounded by mountains, in the East by mountain Masaba, in the West by mountains Ruwenzori (mountains of the moon) and mountain Mufumbiro. There are innumerable hills and beautiful valleys in every district of Uganda. All these and other areas are covered by extensive forests in which various species of timber and animals are found.

Uganda has five lakes and many small and medium rivers, and the legendary Nile river has its source in Uganda and on its way to the Sudan and Egypt flows over many miles in Uganda and passes through many different districts of Uganda.

Many minerals are known to exist in Uganda but these have not as yet been explored.

In Uganda can be grown any of the tropical fruits and there are so many of them that it would be a waste of time to enumerate them. High in the mountain can be grown fruits found in temperate zones but these possibilities have not been explored.

The equator passes through Uganda but because of the high altitude it has not much effect on the climate.

Uganda has often been referred to by the imperialists as the pearl in the heart of the African continent. Here can be found extensive game parks and reserves and the imperialists are encouraging the Uganda people to preserve them for the pleasure of the imperialist tourists through which they can have a chance of spying the country and investigating the prospects of exploitation.

Uganda from the short information I have given above is a rich country but it is her people who are poor because of our sixty years of colonial rule and exploitation and because of the existing imperialist monopolistic exploitation and the local foreign capitalist monopolistic exploitation.

During the 68 years of British colonial rule Uganda's economy was subjected to ruthless and total exploitation. Foreign banks were established, the Baroda and National Bank of India, by Indian capitalists, the National and Grindlay's standard and Barclays Bank by the British and South African capitalists, the Ottoman Bank by the U.S. capitalist and the Netherlands Bank by the Dutch capitalists.

The people of Uganda are intelligent, industrious and hard working. But because of deception that they are suffering from at the wicked hands of colonialism and imperialism and because of the division being carried out among them by the imperialists and capitalist monopolies we have not united completely and presented a united front in working towards the establishment and building an independent national economy and confronting the imperialists and neo-colonialists with full vigour.

The people have now began seeing the tricks, intrigues and machinations of the imperialists and their allies and are in various ways and various voices questioning the existing order of things. Feeling the burden of exploitation they are showing dissatisfaction and have begun raising voices against the exploitation of capitalist monopolies and imperialist neo-colonialism. They are questioning for what purpose they attained

independence and what they should be doing to attain the fruits of their independence for which in their own way had contributed to attain and which presented them great hopes of the future. The forces of the people demanding an end to imperialist, capitalist and neo-colonialist exploitation are growing from day to day. Most of the leading imperialist countries were allowed into Uganda during British colonial rule and more have come forward to make their fortunes in Uganda at the expense and by exploiting the people of Uganda. Britain through her former colonial rule has the biggest share of exploitation both in the government service and in business concerns. But now superseded by the forced out of full control by the U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism. This U.S. advance is being spearheaded by the U.S. A.I.D. programme in the economic field, by the I.C.F.T.U. in the trade union field, and by the tourists, Operation Crossroaders, Peace Corps, Rockefeller Foundation, Kennedy Foundation and Missionaries in the socio-economic fields.

Britain and U.S.A. have been joined by France, Belgium, the Netherlands, West Germany and Zionist Israel under the armpit of U.S. imperialism and using the most cunning but dangerous methods.

France and the Netherlands besides the physical imperialistic economic exploiting adventures are also engaged in mental imperialism of the very worst kind. They are the so-called religious missionaries, the Mirage Creators or the "after death heavenly paradise economists". These together with the British and other capitalist countries missionaries are the agents and forerunners of imperialist economic exploitation, who are the masters in enslaving the minds of people and make the people impotent and unprotesting to the economic exploitation of their countries and make people accept to live in poverty and ignorance in expectation of another better world after death.

It is these very people who propagate among young and old minds that black stands for evil and the devil and white for god and the angels. They make the Ugandan accept an inferior position and to feel the white imperialist is superior and will solve his problems. Missionaries campaign to destroy the peoples values of life and their culture and tradition and persuade them to accept the degenerated social life of imperialists such as dancing all the night and seeing immoral films. U.S. imperialism has also very vigorously resorted to mental imperialism by introducing various types of new faiths.

The other exploiters are the Indian capitalists some of whom have taken up Uganda citizenship but most have not. Whatever it be this group of people have no sympathy with the economically oppressed Uganda masses and are not prepared to assist in ensuring equal distribution of the economic wealth of Uganda. I am by no means and in no way anti-Indian, but I am wholeheartedly as most of the people in Uganda are against the Indian capitalist exploitation of Uganda and their collaboration with the imperialist monopoly capitalists to exploit Uganda and her people.

The peasant problem is lack of modern implements and means of transportation of their products to local markets, and the workers' chief problem is that of being very lowly paid. To give an example, what a worker earns in the form of wages in a month, a high ranking imperialist business executive earns in an hour and an imperialist Uganda government high executive earns in a day. And what a high ranking imperialist business executive earns in a day a Uganda peasant farmer earns in a year.

The Uganda land system is not uniform in every part of the country, in fact there are three system Firstly, the feudal system with landlords to whom the peasants pay annual rent. Secondly, the system whereby all the lands belong to the people of the tribe or community and one can cultivate or erect a house anywhere, where no other person has already cultivated or erected a house. And thirdly the system where each family has land and this is handed down to the children, this system has been in existence from time immemorial and the handing over of land is from father to son.

Dear Comrades,

After hearing all these problems faced by the Ugandan people, I would request you dear friends and brothers of the Afro-Asian countries to generously offer to us your brothers of Uganda training opportunities not only for cadres in raising higher and higher the spirit of self-reliance in the construction of an independent national economy, but also in training technicians, personnel and specialists to bring to fruition this same spirit and to lay the foundation and build an independent national economy in Uganda.

The economic situation in Uganda is a heritage of imperialist and colonial oppression and the existing monopolistic capitalist exploitation. It does not present to the people of Uganda a bright future of their development and does not show any signs of mapping out an independent national economy. The economy is 90% agricultural. The import and

export trade is in the hands of foreign monopolists and even the bigger and more flourishing retail trade is being run by foreign capitalists. The purchasing from peasants and marketing of important food crops are also being carried out by the foreign capitalists.

These foreign capitalists do not plough back most of the money into the economic development of the country but send the money to their respective countries. Not only this, they charge extremely high prices for commodities and no where in the country can one find the same prices for the various commodities, each foreign businessman fixes the prices as he wishes. In most cases because of the ignorance of the peasants they charge very low quality commodities.

The few major industries that exist in the country are under the virtual control of the monopoly capitalist. These are one textile factory, copper extraction and smelting, cement factory and asbestos manufacturing factory. The state through the Uganda development co-operation (instituted during colonial rule) has put in some investment, but the management and running are mostly in the hands of the monopoly capitalists. Those industries processing and manufacturing consumer goods are entirely in the hands of foreign capitalists and mostly in the hands of a number of foreign imperialist family monopolists. When any Ugandan is trained as a technician abroad in a particular field he is either quickly taken on by these monopolies or he is refused employment and will find no other work and thus his ability is wasted. Even though most of these industries use local raw-materials they charge very high prices for their products because of the absence of any national industries.

The banks are completely under foreign control and there is great discrimination in the lending of money, this money is only lent to foreign businessmen and not to the Ugandans. When any Ugandan wants to borrow the banks always demands security in the form of land or buildings. As most Ugandans do not have any houses of any value they are disqualified and as the land is their only livelihood they cannot just give it away because this would be suicide. There are two public institutions for lending money but these are under foreign management because these monopolists put in money and are thus taken on the Boards of Control, when a Ugandan goes to borrow and if he is lucky he gets so little that it is impossible for him even to use the money to construct a semi-permanent business shop. And even in these public lending institutions foreigners have access to borrow.

With no banking facilities the future looks gloomy for the Ugandan petty businessman, he has no chance of expanding in business, rather he contracts as monopolists become more and more powerful. And of course as he has no access to the banks and import and export are out of his control, he cannot make use of modern banking practices and facilities such as bills of exchange, he has neither the knowledge nor the opportunity to make use of them.

As to the trade in local food crops such as maize, simsim, groundnuts, millet etc. It is the monopolists who also have control. They go to the countryside at harvest time because they possess transport facilities and not only pay the peasants uneconomically low prices but use the most defective measures and often no measures at all when making purchases. These crops they take to stores in the towns and release them at five to eight times the prices at which they bought them. And thus these monopolists not only exploit the peasants in the countryside but also the workers in towns. They pay workers very low wages and charge them very high prices for commodities. The peasant is also extremely exploited, he gets very low prices for produce and pays very high prices for commodities, this always leaves him in a state of poverty for he is required to spend more than he earns, and as he has no other source of income except his crops, in which he is cheated, he is unable to afford many of the necessary commodities. Not only can he not afford commodities, he cannot afford to send his children to school and to buy clothing for his family, thus you see because of these evil monopolistic practices, the Uganda peasant is poorly dressed and cannot afford to send his children to school and also eats very poor food.

The foreign businessman all over Uganda pays his workers the lowest wages. For when the peasant grows desperate because his crops are not paying, he seasonally seeks employment in the business and industrial centres. There are so many of them in search of work that the foreign businessman accepts only the persons willing to receive the lowest wages. These monthly wages are so low that they are not even sufficient to feed a family of two for one week in a month.

In Uganda the big estates such as tea, sugar cane, coffee and sisal are under the control and owned by foreign capitalist monopolies. Thereby products of these large estate crops are also under the control and ownership of the same monopolists. The Uganda's role in all these economic establishments is one of supplying cheap labour. The workers live in most abject poverty and live in the worst of houses and eat the worst of

food. The workers live miserably and the monopolists wish to keep their lives in such a deplorable state. And of course because they produce the finished goods of these estates the capitalists have an absolute control over their marketing.

In short, comrades, all the economic activities such as large production of crops, processing such crops, marketing finished products and marketing general products, importing and exporting, banking and lending are all under the absolute and unchallenged control of foreign imperialist monopolistic capitalists.

The insurance business too is under the control of foreign monopoly capital, they insure peoples lives, vehicles and even the government vehicles and other properties are insured by these foreign insurances.

Transport is also under their control. Most of the buses are owned by foreign monopolies. The Ugandans had formed themselves into an association to run taxi and some buses but the monopolists reduced fares so much so that the Ugandan enterprise failed.

Some Ugandans had got together to do vehicle repair work under trees and in open space because they cannot afford workshops. But even in this they were interfered with the monopolists with their money and with better connections overseas for spare parts erected workshops and made the African mechanics fail. In this field just as in many other fields the monopolists are destroying the Uganda people's endeavours.

Another example is that some Ugandans got together to carry out some small industries to manufacture such things as oil lamps, steel window frames and small simple spare parts but even in this they could not withstand the monopolistic competition. In the industrial field prospects are very gloomy either for an individual Ugandan or for Ugandans in association with one another, for the monopoly capitalists are monopolising each and every field of the economy.

The imperialists have put forward a theory and this has been accepted by many people in the country, that it would be to the greater benefit of Uganda if she remained an agricultural country and did not embark on industrialisation. One of the reasons advanced is that it is because Uganda is a fertile country and therefore more fitted to agriculture than industry. And that as Uganda has no access to the ocean it would be too expensive for her to bring into the country machinery that would set up heavy industries. And that therefore Uganda should concentrate on the production of raw materials and she would get her requirements



from the industrially developed capitalist countries. They say further that trade with the capitalist countries would be very beneficial because of Uganda's long association with these capitalist countries.

The facts of the situation are that Uganda's chief crops of export are coffee and cotton. These are sent to the so-called traditional markets in the capitalists countries. Uganda has no say in the determination of the prices for these products which are the very life blood of Uganda. But prices are determined by the imperialist countries according to their interests and whims and Uganda does not know and is not brought into the picture on how these prices are determined. These prices rise and fall as the imperialist wish and they are never high enough as to be of any benefit to the people of Uganda.

The problem of Uganda in respect to these crops is that Uganda sells at very low prices and buys the finished products at very high prices. For example the Uganda peasant sells his cotton at shillings, 50 for 100 pounds and when cloth comes he has to pay some shillings 50 for a good quality shirt and anything up to shillings 100 for his wife's dress. It means therefore that his bag of cotton of 100 pounds is equivalent to one shirt or two bags are equivalent to one dress to his wife.

The result of all this is that the Ugandan earns too little for his crops and when making purchases and educating his children he has to use money earned from other sources. But as the sources are limited he has to do without many things and not educate his children. What is more the Ugandan does not give any employment to the peoples of the country through his efforts of crop production. It is the imperialists that gain firstly in producing machines and in manufacturing and thus provide employment, whereas in Uganda unemployment increases with each child born.

In short, brothers and sisters of the Afro-Asian countries, the imperialists have advanced a theory of keeping Uganda an agricultural country which means keeping Uganda in a state of growing poverty. Whilst imperialist gains large profits in buying at very low and uneconomical prices she gains greater projects by selling to Uganda finished products at very high prices.

The same case applies to coffee whereby arabic coffee is bought from the peasant at shillings 1/60 cents and Lobusta Coffee at -/50 cents a pound the processed coffee comes back at shillings 4/50 cents for 2 ounces.

These two examples go to show that Uganda is being choked to death by the imperialists in the trade of her two life blood agricultural products.

The only answer Comrades, is that Uganda must embark on industrialisation. She must process the products of the labour and efforts of her people. In this task you friends of the Afro-Asian countries should give her a hand. Or else she should divert her trade with the Afro-Asian countries where because of the understanding that exists among us she will get better prices. She has to embark both on industrialisation and marketing her crops to the Afro-Asian countries whenever possible and practicable. The imperialist countries must buy only finished products. If all these are not possible it will be better for Uganda to embark on other avenues of production than to subject herself to everlasting exploitation in her most essential agricultural products.

She has also to embark on industrialisation in other fields. The Uganda people must start their own banking system if the flow of money has to be carried out fairly and in co-operation with their government or forming their own co-operatives or associations to launch their own national banks and insurances. The people of Uganda should also carry on the import, export, wholesale and retail business.

The Uganda government has signed some cultural, trade and economic agreements with some socialist countries but so far nothing has materialised from them, and as the foreign monopoly capitalists are in the economic control of Uganda they will be the ones to gain by this new relationship and not the people of Uganda. For example some time back three socialist countries Trade Missions came to Uganda and had some trade dealings with foreign monopolistic capitalists when I asked them why this was so, they replied that this was being done because there were no African organisations with which to deal, but assured me that if such African trade organisations are formed they would have no hesitation in dealing with them.

And as the imperialist producers are already supplying the monopoly capitalists with goods and as these have long established business connection, it is necessary and imperative that the Ugandan people through their associations should get the supply of their products from the Afro-Asian countries and if possible also from the Latin American countries.

These I feel are the only ways practical if Uganda has to start on the road to establishing an independent national economy. I have no doubt that you comrades of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries will give Uganda a helping hand in assisting her and her people to set up national industry and in supplying her the commodities for import and accepting at good and economical prices her commodities for export.

I wish here to express the Uganda peoples thanks to the Chinese Comrades for the millions of pounds of cotton that they bought from our country Uganda. The people of Uganda are indeed very appreciative.

I wish further to thank the Korean people, the Korean Workers' Party and the Korean Premier Kim Il Sung for the great hospitality that they have extended to us. The longer I have stayed here the more I have gone deeper and deeper into the Korean peoples lives and their great development I wish them greater successes.

The Second Economic Seminar not only provides us an opportunity to exchange problems and experiences and reassert our unity; but also to make us firmer and more courageous in our revolutionary fervour of destroying imperialist and colonialism old and new; and also in constructing our economies for our own maximum benefit, prosperity and development in all fields.

U.S. imperialism is destined to destruction where is the Roman Empire, those great oppressors of the Asian and African peoples in ancient times. The British Empire has suffered an ignominious end, at one time it was said that the "Sun will never set over the British Empire" but now it has set and does set. I am confident as I am confident of the growing strength and prosperity of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China and of the other Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, and as I am sure that the sun rises and sets, that U.S. imperialism is doomed to utter an absolute destruction and this will be at the hands of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries and the other progressive forces of the world.

Long live the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries solidarity!

## **BOBBY MACK (Bechuanaland)**

Permit me on behalf of the leadership of the Bechuanaland People's Party and the people of Bechuanaland to express my gratitude for your kind invitation you extended to us to this Economic Seminar.

Further allow me also on behalf of my Party and people of Bechuanaland to convey their sincerest felicitations and congratulations to the heroic people of the D.P.R.K. and the Workers' Party of Korea led by Premier Marshal Kim Il Sung upon their triumphant struggle against U.S. imperialism and the present industrial and economic achievements.

I also thank the Korean people for the cordial welcome they gave to us, this will remain indelible in our minds and further, our meeting on the Korean soil solidifies and cements our Afro-Asian and Latin American solidarity and friendship.

In connection with the reports under discussion—neo-colonialism and Asian-African Economies, I should congratulate the Indonesian and Cameroonian delegates upon their brilliant submissions. These reports are related and interwoven just like the people's involved—Afro-Asians and Latin Americans. In both reports the neo-colonialism and economies of our countries have been fully amplified to us all.

It is my feeling from practical observation and experience that the liberation struggle in different countries takes two forms. In most countries the struggle is armed and revolutionary, examples being Korea, South Vietnam, Algeria, etc. and secondly in a few countries may be termed constitutional as in the case of most of British Colonies, however in these latter countries, blood shed before liberating them had to take place at one time or another. But I content that the ultimate solution to imperialism is on the basis of our Chinese and Korean friends i.e. through armed revolt.

In the former countries where the struggle was completely armed, it was very difficult for the former colonial powers to neo-colonise them. But in the latter the ground was fertile for neo-colonialism.

This happens because during the time of negotiations of pre-independence days the colonialists and imperialists entrench neo-colonialism by false elections, treaties, so-called aid and by bringing into

power puppet regimes, etc. Through these cunning methods and tactics in a number of cases the imperialists re-establish themselves through their reactionary agents. The feudalists and the opportunists are always victims of this evil.

Further the imperialists headed by the U.S.A. have always created pretexts for re-establishing themselves in former colonies. Firstly by ignoring the training of the indigenous personnel to man the technical, industrial and economic fields of their former colonial possessions. This is to necessitate neo-colonialism. This has happened and still happens in all dependent countries. It is not simple to combat this evil at that stage because the political and economic controls are manipulated by them. It is only after independence that these can be effectively tackled.

It is therefore the duty of all of us here to apply concrete methods to cure these problems. Firstly, in case of countries in the course of the liberating themselves should be aided by the free Afro-Asian and Latin American countries to train their personnel for all strategic positions to man their economies. In the case of independent underdeveloped countries the economic and cultural co-operation of these countries would be a useful practical proposition. This of course can be done through mutual understanding as has been repeatedly said by other delegates.

In a number of reports, nationalisation has been sounded time and again as one way of solving the problem of neo-colonialism of economic domination by the so-called foreign powers. I certainly agree with this view. The newly independent and non-independent Afro-Asian and Latin American countries should co-operatively arm themselves for implementing nationalisation. The imperialists are always inclined to reply with arms under such a situation. The militia of every country must be trained to preserve the independence of a country in all respects. In case of the non-independent states the co-operation of the independent states will be sought to aid them in training their men and women, since facilities do not exist during the colonial regimes and conditions are always not favourable in most cases, except one.

Finally, it is my feeling that through the solidarity and unity of Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples, to every problem there will be a solution at all times until the total liquidation of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Socialism will live on, while U.S. imperialism continues to manure the fields of History. Onward to a new world under the banner of a united, anti-imperialist Afro-Asian and Latin American Solidarity.

Once more I should thank our Korean hosts for the kind hospitality they have shown to us in their country.

Long live Afro-Asian and Latin American Solidarity!

## ABDULAZIZ NUR HERSI (Somali)

I wish to express our deep gratitude to the Asian Economic Bureau for the kindness of inviting us to participate in this Seminar and we are extending our hearty greetings and sincere wishes to the Korean Committee of the Asian Economic Seminar and entire people of Korea for their brotherly reception and generous hospitality in their glorious capital of Pyongyang.

Dear delegates, many of the friends who took the floor eloquently exposed the essential characteristic of neo-colonialism and profoundly clarified to us its vicious intentions and gave us the clear-cut method and tactics with which we have to foil its devilish scheme. As other delegates gave us the necessary elements for the successful economic co-operation. Our Seminar put on the agenda on issue of utmost importance, that is, the issue to free their economies from the imperialist control and liquidate all unequal relationship with foreign monopolies and foreign capital. In other words, to develop our economies by chiefly relying on national resources and to build our own independent economies. I am sure that the delegates assigned to these responsibilities towards this Seminar well studied and most eloquently reported on this subject. Thus I would not like to waste our time in speaking about what we have just heard.

Dear friends, I want to say very brief words about the economic situation of our country. Our economy has all the major characteristics of the economically underdeveloped country. The national income is very low, over 85 per cent of which comes from agriculture and livestock. Monoculture system prevails. Furthermore all the vital branches of our economy, like banks, insurance companies, transport and the light industries we have, namely electricity, leather, fisheries, canned meat and important resources of mineral water, are all, without exception, manipulated by foreign capitalists. Even bananas, the chief crop of the country, is in the hands of Italian monopoly.

Colonialists are doing their utmost to provide protection for their investment. We have a practical experience on this point. We have seen bills or laws drafted at Washington or at home by their own experts in their country which give their capital full protection from possible nationalization or expropriation for public utility and any danger which

may be caused by any popular uprising with the clause of the most sovereign state, were passed in our National Assembly. This was due to the absence of true representatives of the people from the National Assembly who could courageously raise the voice of the people and honestly guard their interest. Imperialists may think that things are in the course they like and their interests will remain intact. But tomorrow may prove that this was nothing but a dream.

Comrades, the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is passing through a crucial stage and I think it is the revolutionary duty of this Seminar to face this problem boldly and scientifically analyse it so we can reach correct conclusion. I think it is an irrefutable fact that political independence and economic freedom are two phases of the same object, that is fighting for political independence without realising economic independence is devoid of any sense, so too, talking about economic independence before achieving political freedom is mere superfluity.

Dear friends, I am aware of the nature of our Seminar and that it is supposed to deal with the matters of economic character, but as I am convinced that economics and politics are inseparable and they have a stronger inter-dependent relationship, I wish to say from this rostrum that many African peoples have great difficulties ahead to attain their national independence and yet they are determined to achieve it regardless of tremendous sacrifices they suffer. The forms of the struggle of African people vary according to the specific conditions of each given country. There are people who took arms and are already undergoing through armed revolutionary war to win national independence or to realize social emancipation. In other words, people are valiantly waging a struggle. Our Somali people are composed of two categories, those in the foreign dominated territories and those in the republic respectively. We deem it imperative for this Seminar to emphasize that the intensification of the struggle of the national-liberation movement is our immediate task and for this reason to urge all the national governments of Africa, Asia and Latin America to render all possible assistance to the forces fighting for realizing our common lofty goals. I believe that any hesitation to expose the evil deeds of executioners of the people will be very helpful to them and it will have far-reaching effects which may frustrate the forces that are fighting for the happiness of their people and the bright future of all peoples.



Dear friends, many prominent African leaders have spoken about African unity as it is our cherished dream. We believe that unity itself is not an end. Unity is a good thing if it serves the interest of the people. Comrades, if we advocate the democratic revolutionary Algeria to unite with another African state which has different political and social institutions, such a state will not be a progressive one but will retreat. Our end is a prosperous Africa. What, we think, is the best for African unity is, in the first and foremost place, to help fully independent countries with equal rights. If it is taken as a smokescreen to perpetuate some defective, situations which are the remnants of the colonial rule in Africa as some heads of African states are desperately trying, such unity will not spring from the free will of the peoples and because it is imposed its collapse will be inevitable.

At present stage of our struggle we need to achieve national sovereignty for every African people which have all the necessary elements for a nation, such as common history, common language, common economic interest and common culture. We need to consolidate our solidarity against imperialism and we need to create a broad anti-imperialist common front.

Dear friends, when the colonialists were compelled to quit Africa under the fatal blows of the national-liberation movement, they left for us a number of problems, among which is border question and the division of one ethnical group into many different political states. For this problem we sincerely hope the African people will work out a suitable and just solution for this great problem. Doing this is a crystal proof of the people's political maturity and their sound appreciation of the question. We hope the African solidarity and comradeship will thrive and colonialists will be disappointed.

Dear delegates, I do not see the necessity to mention all the people who are fighting for liberation of their countries. This is because there are so many that they extend through our host country, the heroic Korean people, to the Western coast of Africa, our brothers of Angola and Congo and across the Atlantic, our brothers in the armies and the peoples of the Latin America continent are fighting against North America imperialism. And secondly, because most of their representatives spoke on this problem. But still there is one problem I want to mention because of the great danger it constitutes to our people and its humanitarian character as well. This problem is the existence of Israel in the half of Arab countries. And pitiful and inhuman state in which Arabs of Palestine are living.

I want to remind you, as you friends all know, that Israel was created by international imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and she is protected by world imperialism. In this respect we have to keep in mind the notorious tripartite declaration of 1950 by the three big imperialist powers, United States of America, Great Britain and France. We know too that Israel is the lavishly financed by the U.S. imperialists. Moreover we know that Afro-Asian heads of states and governments in their bilateral and multi-lateral talks had condemned Israel. Thus we hope, our Seminar will not fail to describe her merits as an imperialist base of aggression and a tool of neo-colonialism to utilize her for their attempt at economic penetration into countries of Africa and Asia and we hope to support the right of the Arab Palestinian to return to their homeland, Palestine.

Dear friends, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are undergoing a very bitter battle which has a dual nature, let's say, economically and politically, and we are facing the same enemy in both fields, imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. To defeat imperialism and to secure victory for the people we have to exchange experiences and foster our solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces of the world and wage determined struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism. What we see as an urgent task for the liberation movement is to adopt a scientifically studied, well-defined economic program. Taking such measure will be an inspiring factor for the masses to intensify the struggle and to continue it to the end. Without such economic program the toiling people and the masses generally who took the chief burden of the struggle and suffered untold pains will be disappointed from the very day of the liberation celebrations. Our people are yearning for a better life and wherever its torch is raised they will rally and resolutely defend its banner.

Dear friends, once again I want to convey our warmest greetings to the Korean Committee of the Second Asian Economic Seminar for the splendid preparation for the Seminar and the extraordinary hospitality.

Long live the national-liberation movement.

## **ALI MBARUK MUHAMMED (Zanzibar)**

I deem it a matter of honour and great significance to be among you all, brothers of Asia and Africa attending this Economic Seminar at the beautiful city of Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. From the depth of my heart, I convey to you, on behalf of the newly born People's Republic of Zanzibar our warmest greetings and sincere wishes that our common efforts be crowned with full success. To the heroic people of Korea under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Premier Kim Il Sung I extend the warm hand of friendship and comradeship in arms on behalf of the revolutionary people of Zanzibar.

On the 12th of January 1964 the greatest event in the history of our people have taken place. The armed revolution of the people of Zanzibar gained its success and feudal rule which bent the backs of our people for many years was overthrown. Today the workers, the peasants, all patriotic and revolutionary sections of our people are represented in the Revolutionary Council of the Republic. Land has become the property of its tillers—the peasants. Important Institutions which have been under the control of foreign monopoly capital like the electricity board, the palaces of the Sultan, feudal lords and clubs are nationalised and have become the property of the people. The palace which was called the Sultan palace, is named today the People's Palace. Our roads which had been named after the colonialists and imperialists have been renamed after the revolutionary well known heroes of our time. The same was applied to schools, hospitals and other Institutions. Today the former hospital of Zanzibar is called Vladimir Ilich Lenin hospital where nowadays all patients are equally treated without any discrimination. Dear Friends; This is not all we have done by all means. The most important achievement of our revolution is the dismantling of the American base from our country under the revolutionary demand and pressure of the entire population. After finding no way out under the heavy blows of our people, the government of the United States wanted to manoeuvre by requesting us to give them two months time to dismantle the base. Instead we ordered them to evacuate our territory and dismantle their base within a period of only 17 days. The so-called American powerful government had to bow in forced respect to the revolutionary will of the masses of our people. This proves that a people however small in number, provided that they

are closely united in their revolutionary activity can defeat any aggressor however strong he may appear. The achievement of this great task was not only in the interest of consolidating the Independence of our country, but also the independence and security of the whole of East Africa and the entire African continent.

Dear brothers and friends,

We have only taken the first step on the road of socialism. Many difficulties lie ahead of us. The road is not smooth and full of twists and turns. We have to keep high our vigilance against the Internal and external enemies, to unite closely with and defend the International working class movement and to take our proper place in the ranks of the world united front against imperialism, old and neo-colonialism. In building our new future, many selfless, brotherly hands were generously extended to us providing us with technical assistance, agricultural machinery and other equipment. This will ever remain in our memories and to it we are extremely grateful. Since we began our new construction, we are confident that the same true hands will continue assisting us in our honourable task.

Dear brothers and friends,

We are sure that this Economic Seminar being held in Pyongyang is of great historic significance to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are striving to build their national economy on the basis of self-reliance. From the deliberations, valuable reports, speeches and opinions exchanged and presented here, I assure you that our people will learn a great deal. We fully support and endorse the basic reports already given here. We are confident that the seminar will work out concrete measures to put into practice the ideas already agreed upon, to further strengthen our solidarity, our economic relations and our common struggle. We hope that this seminar will be crowned with full success.

Mr. Chairman and friends,

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a revolutionary country. It broke the backs of the U.S. aggressors on its land and on the ruins of old Pyongyang, a new, beautiful, modern towering city has come into being. Remarkable achievements have been scored in the field

of industry, agriculture and other fields. This can only fill the hearts of all friends with pleasure and happiness; and fills the hearts of all enemies with anger and fury. We wish the Korean people ever more and new successes. To our Korean brothers who are fighting in the South for their liberation and the unity of their motherland, we give them our full wholehearted and unreserved support. Soon the sun will shine with ever greater brilliance in the Southern part of your country.

Before I conclude, I sincerely extend our deep gratitude for the head of this Seminar Mrs. Theja Gunawardhana, for providing us with this opportunity to take part in this meeting. I also express our gratitude for the Korean brothers for their warm hospitality, kindness and brotherly care. Down with imperialism-Ever forward on the road of socialism. Long live Afro-Asian solidarity.

## KATJIMUINA VEII (South West Africa)

Comrades,

I bring you revolutionary greeting from the fighting people of South West Africa united under the leadership of the National Union of South West Africa.

On behalf of the people of South West Africa, let me express my gratitude and thanks to the Asian Economic Bureau for inviting us here to take part in this progressive seminar.

Secondly I want to apologize that my delegation, may be, will not be in a position to contribute a lot to the discussion. As you all know that we are still in a stage of struggle, wishing national-liberation. And unfortunately I myself am not a good economist. But we shall do all in our power to make this seminar achieve great success.

For us it is a great honour that the seminar is being held here in Korea where the people have shown the world that it is not arms and bombs that decide the future of the world but the masses of the people.

The Korean people's victory over the imperialist once again showed that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. And it shows that a people, however few in number, when united and determined can accomplish any task and no force on earth however strong it may be can stop them.

I want to thank all the comrades here who have given reports on the problems of economic construction on neo-colonialism and our Chinese comrades on co-operation.

For us, still struggling for independence, it was really educative and inspiring and we hope to cope with them after national liberation. For us, who are not yet politically independent, we are faced with this question.

We will start to choose after independence.

Dear friends,

The people of South West Africa under the leadership of South West African National Union see only one path, the path of socialism for our economic construction. Because we believe that it is the only way to liquidate the remnants of colonialism.

We believe that it is the only sure and quickest way to build a happy life for the masses of our people. Unless we embrace socialism we will move backward instead of forward. Under any other system our progress can only be slow. Our people, the masses, will lose efficiency. They want to see progress and socialism is the only means that will bring it speedily. Lot has been said yet about stooges, bandits and cliques ruling South Korea, South Vietnam, Taiwan, the so-called Federation of Malaysia and Thailand. Let us see what is going on in the liberation movement in Africa.

Today in Africa three types of freedom fighters can be found on our continent. They are those who are courageously and earnestly devoted to the cause of African liberation. Thus freedom fighters are dedicated to African freedom, African progress and African unity. They are the best sons and daughters of Africa. Then there are those who by their work and actions serve only the interest of private capital. These so-called freedom fighters have no mind of their own, no devotion to the people of their continent. They carry out the dictates of their foreign bosses operating in Africa. They delight in efforts to anticipate their masters' wishes.

Thirdly, there are those so-called freedom fighters who unwittingly or deliberately serve the interest of foreign governments by creating puppet regimes or organizations in Africa. The last two types by their distortions and evasions from the truth have a morbid appeal to chauvinism and latent animosities.

Now, I come to the role of modern revisionism in the liberation movement.

By bribing freedom fighters in the same way as imperialism, they have created unjust splits and poisoned the minds of masses against the revolutionary path. They tell the masses that armed struggle will lead to a world war with atom bombs and wishes us to leave our struggle in the hands of the United Nations! Modern revisionists preach, lies throughout the world about their help to the struggling people.

But my dear comrades and friends,

Their so-called help is given with strings attached. Before receiving this so-called help you have to say: "we support your foreign policy and we will have to make statements deriding the people of Republic of China".

They go to the extent of disuniting revolutionary forces and even to the extent of trying to assassinate revolutionary freedom fighters. We say to hell with them. They will never succeed. The oppressed people believe in armed struggle to free themselves and depend mainly on their own efforts.

Our national resources, the resources of South West Africa, are exploited to enrich the Europeans by fascist settler element in various overseas investments. Especially the U.S. imperialist who own all the biggest mines and factories of our country. Our country has a strong economy and sound financial position. South West Africa's flourishing economy is due to mineral resources, arable and grazing land as well as our fishing ground from which great production is obtained for home consumption and for export to the fascist, so-called, Republic of South Africa and imperialist countries. The economy of our country has become the property of the European fascist settlers in collusion with all the forces of international reaction headed by U.S. imperialism.

Our struggle is a people's struggle and it will not be long when fascist Verwood and his supporters will be defeated,

Long live the great unity and solidarity of Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples!

Down with the imperialists, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the sworn enemy of the people, U.S. imperialism!

Comrades!

Before I sit down I have written here only a summary of Asian and African neo-colonialism. I wish to stress with special emphasis the question of Israel. As you know Israel is one of the biggest neo-colonialists powers especially in Africa. The final documents of the seminar will I hope make special mention of this problem as was done at the opening of the seminar.



## LOURENCO MUTACA (Mozambique)

On behalf of the Mozambique Liberation Front I wish to express my sincere thanks for the great opportunity that has been extended to us. The Mozambican people will never forget this opportunity which they have been given by the organisers of the Asian Economic Seminar to participate in this very important seminar.

The warm and brotherly welcome we have received from the heroic people of Korea will be forever recorded in Mozambican mind.

To us Mozambican Korea is of particular and special interest, because the independence of Mozambique can only be obtained through an armed struggle.

The Korean people have written one golden page in the history of the struggle against imperialism and dependence on the foreign economy. They have defeated by force of arms the highest imperialist power-U.S. imperialists, and they have built at a Chullima speed an Independent National Economy based on self-reliance.

Based on this experience and on the report delivered by the head of the Korean delegation we can try to establish the essential basis for the Liberation of our country and for the building of an Independent National Economy, that is, from the particular to the general and from the general to the particular.

The experience of the Algerian people in the fight against colonialism and imperialism and in the construction of a new society has been accelerating our movement for Mozambique Liberation and we must stress that Mozambique will never forget the unconditional support given by this country.

The People's Republic of China is also playing an important role in the liberation of all Africa and his experience in armed struggle and fight against imperialism is well known.

This large field of experiences enables us to choose the shortest way to attain our political, economic, social and cultural independence.

Mozambique has to be an independent country soon because the Mozambique Liberation Front is determined to win in the liberation struggle, we are sure to win because we have the support of all progressive forces of the world and because our cause is right and history is on our side.

Portuguese colonialism and her NATO imperialist allies are condemned to defeat and complete destruction.

We express our strong support and solidarity with the peoples engaged in armed struggle against colonialism and imperialism in South Vietnam, Guinea Angola and with all those who are fighting neo-colonialism; imperialism and pro-imperialism in Asia; Africa and Latin America.

I am going to give you a brief outlook of the economic possibilities of our country.

Mozambique is primarily an agricultural country. Her crops consists mainly of eight agricultural products—cotton, sugar, copra, cashew nuts, tea, sisal, coconut oil, and timber and these account for about 90 per cent of the country's export.

The other agricultural products including tobacco account for about 10 per cent of the exports.

This situation prevails because Portugal and her imperialist allies, are using Mozambique as a fountain of raw materials.

The imperialist allies of Portugal are participating fully in the economic exploitation and plunder of our country. The English, American, French, Belgian and South African capitalists own extensive plantations and have an absolute control on the banking, hotels and own the mines and also control most of the transports. Exports were valued at U.S. \$88,000,000 in 1962, but the foreign trade deficit run at more than U.S. \$49,000,000.

It is estimated that one third of the total land area is suitable for cultivation but only one per cent of this is now being cultivated and is under the plantation system.

The African farm labourers earn only 10 to 15 U.S. cents per day. The methods of cultivation by the peasants are still primitive but because of the natural richness of the soil considerable quantities of products are obtained. All the Mozambicans in rural areas because of the absence of any industries are compelled to work in the forced agricultural production:

- (a) A piece of land is distributed to every Mozambican.
- (b) He is compelled to cultivate only that crop as determined by the concessionaire company, which is in full control of the area where the peasant has been given the piece of land.
- (c) He is compelled to sell the whole quantity of crops produced at the Company at a very low price fixed by the Portuguese colonialists.

The sizes of such prices of land are such that the Mozambicans cannot find enough time to cultivate food for their own consumption and livelihood.

And it is because of this that Mozambicans in rural areas are too poor and live in an appalling condition and subsequently they suffer from various diseases and as a result there is a very high mortality.

According to a treaty which was made between Portugal and the Transvaal Republic in 1875 and revised in 1901, 1928, 1934, 1936, 1940 and again in 1950 Portugal is required to send every year to the Transvaal 100,000 Mozambiquens to work in the gold mines and in return 45·5 per cent of the products to the Transvaal must run through the Port of Lourenco Marques.

Other sections in the Agreement are:

- (a) Direct monetary payment per African recruited to be paid to the Portuguese Colonial Administration;
- (b) Guarantee to repatriate back to Mozambique any worker found in any part of South Africa who did not go there as part of the Contract;
- (c) The maximum contract time is 18 months and the Portuguese Government is permitted to establish Portuguese Native Affairs Inspection Stations within the Republic of South Africa.

In addition to this treaty more than 200,000 other Mozambican workers are hired labourers in South African Plantations, farms, houses and secondary industries. Further approximately 150,000 Mozambicans work in northern and southern Rhodesian copper mines, firms and house of white settlers.

The same law also forced more than 100,000 northern Mozambicans to seek employment in Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Kenya. They work mostly in sisal plantations, railways and harbours and as servants in European and Indian homes and also work as night watchmen.

Mozambique is by no means poor in natural resources. It is very rich in mineral resources and the following minerals are known to exist: diamonds, iron, manganese, asphalt, rock salt, petroleum, gold, beryl, copper, lead, coal, columbite, uranium, bauxite, titanium, sircon, graphite, wolfram, mica, etc.

The Portuguese colonialists and their imperialist allies are exploiting 68 small mines of diamond, iron, manganese, asphalt, rock salt, and other minerals.

The well developed ports of Beira and Lourenco Marques which provide a crucial outlet to the sea for Mozambique's landlocked neighbours (Nyasaland and North Rhodesia) brings in nearly half of the colonial income.

A six-year development program initiated by the Portuguese imperialists in 1959 estimated an expenditure of about U.S. \$125,000,000 over half of this amount has been spent on colonisation projects in setting white Portuguese colonialists. This program has not been completely carried out because the freedom fighters of Mozambique intensified their struggle and as a result Portuguese channelled very big part of this amount to military expenditures in order to suppress our people.

The forests are rich and it is estimated that 25 per cent of the country is covered by forest in which can be found many rich species of various trees and woods.

Fishing plays a considerably part in the economy of the Colony.

The climate is suitable for cattle ranching and the breeding of goats, sheep, pigs and poultry.

But one of the difficulties in this respect is that many areas are infested with tze-tze fly.

Great possibilities exist for the exploitation of hydro-electric energy but at the present moment there is only one hydro-electric station.

The total length of roads is 21,000 kilometres and that of railway is 3,000.

Mozambique has a very long coast and due to this the country has many ports. Among the 12 ports most important are those of Lourenco Marques, Beira, Mozambique Porto Amelia and Nacala. Lourenco Marques is one of the biggest ports in the African continent. All this natural resources create great and vast opportunities for us to build an independent National Economy based on self-reliance which will place us in a position to conduct an independent foreign policy and implement our economic development plans.

The success of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America in their struggle against imperialism will put us in a good position to carry out the development of our country with the aim of establishing an Independent National Economy and this will create conditions for Economic co-operation between Mozambique and other Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

It is because of this hope that many Mozambicans sincerely hope that this Seminar will shine with success and be fruitful in giving them a solution in their struggle for the Liberation of our country from Portuguese colonialism, and later on when this is achieved to them, a solution on the long road of reconstructing and building a new society.

## **I.M. GARBA-JAHUMPA (Gambia)**

May I, first of all, be permitted to refer to certain paragraphs of this report, this convincing report, so ably delivered by our Comrade, head of the Chinese delegation. First of all, I refer you to page 14, the paragraph that I am going to read which has convinced me to take the floor again to comment on this report.

That paragraph I quote: "The Chinese delegation hopes that these proposals will be discussed, revised and supplemented by fellow delegates and friends so as to be made more solid and complete". It is because of this far-sightedness expressed in so simple terms by the Chinese delegation that I am emboldened and encouraged to say briefly what I think of this subject. Again, with your permission, Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I refer you to page 2 of this report in which Mr. Nan has elaborated on the heading of this report. And, I am sure, the way in which it is amplified will give many delegates a chance to ramify of this report on the subject.

I quote:— "enhancing the economic co-operation among Asian countries on the basis of self-reliance in order to promote the development of independent national economy".

Here, fellow delegates, you will agree with me that much scope has been given for further comment on the subject.

Before I delve deeply into this matter, I would like briefly to give you the possibilities and potentialities of economic development in Gambia which is going to be independent before the end of this year.

My country is only an enclave into the territory of Senegal, neighbouring Mali, Guinea and Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde and has a population of little over half a million with an area of about 15,000 square miles. Without the use of any mechanization and only using 1/10 of the arable land and using primitive method, the Gambian farmers are able to produce 80,000-90,000 tons of grain. So I am convinced that as a result of this Asian Seminar in which we are given the opportunity to express ourselves and to benefit further by attending it, Gambia, one of the African countries attending will certainly gain benefit in the near future on this subject on this report given by the head of Chinese delegation. That is to say when the time comes for Afro-Asian countries to

develop and to extend co-operation to one another I am certain that when we need agricultural machinery and other machines for agricultural purposes the Gambia will also receive mutual aid from other Afro-Asian non-imperialist countries. The Gambia also has the richest fishing grounds along the West African coast in the estuary of the river in the Atlantic Ocean.

Inside the river up to about 150 miles we still have abundant fishing grounds. These remain untouched because of the slowness and selfishness of British imperialist. I am also convinced that after independence when we start to develop the resources of the country particularly if the Gambia is under dynamic and socialist party, the Gambia Congress Party which I have the humble honour of leading, I am sure fish will come to your countries especially those countries that have not much fish we in the Gambia will be able to supply.

The Gambia also is a potential in the production of palm to us in Africa. The palm is very valuable because from there we have palm oil, because from there the canner manufactures margarine which is an oil that can produce a large number of dollars, because also our country is a great potential in the production of rice which is stable food of the country.

I am again very hopeful that from this report and under the auspices of this Asian Seminar, Gambia will solidly benefit from such co-operation when the time comes.

At the moment we only grow  $1/10$  perhaps  $1/8$  of what we need for consumption in rice. The rest we already purchased from Asian countries from Rangoon and Saigon.

As you see, without the mechanization, without the methods that I have seen used in Korea here and in China and in other Asian countries. Our farmers most of whom are women in the production of rice grow something to eat. This under the proposed economic development and mutual assistance will help to increase our produce and save the Gambia about £600,000 which goes out to other pocket.

As our river runs, through the whole country to a distance of about 300 miles nearer border of Guinea and Mali. There is no doubt that because of the freshness of water, the Gambian farmer could be assisted to raise

two crops every year. Two crops of rice, two crops of maize, two crops of groundnuts in other word two harvests of many of its agricultural products for year when we are independent and British imperialists are away and when we become member of the Afro-Asian family and when real economic co-operation begins to work. I am positively certain that all these economies will be developed and with a assistance of technicians who will come and train local people in that country.

Gambia will become not only the smallest but a model of the Socialist State in the African continent. Today we are talking loudly of fighting and struggling against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

This struggle as has been told by my colleagues from Bachuanaland is of 2 types in Africa: one by means of arms, the other by constitutional means.

We told you further that the one by constitutional means can entice or encourage the former colonial power to remain as new colonialists.

This happens in practically, all French and all English speaking countries that have already attained full sovereignty in Africa. It is therefore possible that British neo-colonialists and their American brothers who are now sitting at Oakar near Bapos capital of Gambia eagerly watching opportunities after the independence, they will I am so, invade after having invaded other territories in the nature of neo-colonialist.

It is not enough to talk about while we talk about fighting against all these evils of imperialism-colonialism in its new and old form. They themselves are busy establishing themselves as I have indicated to you on the first day of Seminar around Indian and pacific coast all along the African Continents. And they are trying to taste the help of one another to dominate these two great continents. Therefore we should not satisfy, we should not content which coming to places, exchanging valuable information and beneficent views, passing resolutions, going back home and waiting another opportunity to come and do the same.

In between I believe it is a duty of every delegation to try and bring into actual practice any resolutions, the contents of any report and declarations that might be passed at any Conference particularly at this eminent Asian Economic Seminar. I therefore believe and very much



hope that from here we are going to put up another fight against the imperialists that is by practically demonstrating against imperialism and all the new colonialism by starting the co-operation necessary, the mutual technical assistance necessary between the great continents of Asia and Africa. Before I conclude this my brief comment, comrade, chairman, brothers and sisters, I should like to make one point clear and I am so the others of this magnificent report will agree with me that I in particular and I hope my African colleagues from the African continent will take it that in the report wherever it is mentioned Asian countries. It also means Asian and African countries.

I am sure, this might have been the intention of Chinese delegation in preparing this report and I have no doubt in my own mind that we all from Africa will take it as referring to not only Asian countries but African countries as well because of the magnificent opportunity we have been given to express ourselves in this way.

## SUMMING UP OF DISCUSSIONS ON ITEM III OF THE AGENDA

### TEMMAR HAMID (Algeria)

#### “Neo-colonialism and African Economy”

- (A) After the reports made in the most clear way and with a particularly keen sense of responsibility by most of our African brothers who took the floor before me, it has become evident that the essential foundations of colonialism and neo-colonialism are, on the one hand, the exploitation at low prices of natural resources which are needed by the industries of the developed countries of the West and, on the other, the existence of outlets for manufactured goods of these industries.
- (B) In view of the present-day philosophy highly impregnated with progressive ideas, of the international situation dominated by the brotherly socialist camp, the existence of the progressive forces in Africa and lastly the liberation of a number of countries including Guinea, Ghana, Mali, R.A.U., Zanzibar, Congo-Brazzaville, Algeria, the international trusts, led by American capital, have assumed a new form—neo-colonialism—directly or by using certain international organisations as shields.
- (C) Neo-colonialism assumes basically four forms:
- Technical, financial and cultural assistance which mortgages our future to their profit.
  - Creation of “national” companies controlled largely by international capital.
  - Investment of short-term capitals designed to realize the transfer of riches to the benefit of the capitalist countries.
  - Creation of, or alliance with, the local bourgeoisie set against the cause of their people.
- (D) However, as is the case with colonialism, neo-colonialism is doomed to defeat. Certain African countries are engaged in resolute struggles against economic oppression, thus indicating the sure way to the complete liberation of the African continent.

This liberation presupposes certain political and economic conditions.

(a) The political conditions consist in:

- Active and effective support for the revolutionaries now fighting against the imperialists and their lackeys.
- Unity of the people of each country with regard to progressive options.
- Unity of Africa in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- Unity of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

(b) The economic conditions are related to two principal ideas:

- Conception of the national economy based on the socialist relations of production.
- Principle of self-reliance as a condition for real fraternal co-operation.

These ideas implicate:

- Liquidation of the military bases.
  - Realisation of the agrarian reform and the nationalisation of the credit banks and transport in order to put heavy industry on its feet, which is a condition for an independent economy.
  - Creation of genuinely national cadres through the liquidation of illiteracy, complete schooling of our children, the reform of education, the professional training for adults.
- (c) Lastly, we think that it is an important condition for the liberation of our continent to organize such a seminar with the brothers of Asia and Latin America whose experience, particularly the experience of the peoples of North Korea and People's China, are precious examples and sure encouragement for us.

In this regard Africa thanks the organisers of this Seminar for active, direct participation in the work.

# **ON ENHANCING THE ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AMONG ASIAN COUNTRIES ON THE BASIS OF SELF-RELIANCE IN ORDER TO PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ECONOMY**

**Speech by Mr. NAN HAN-CHEN  
Head of the Chinese Delegation**

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates and friends,

The Chinese delegation has much pleasure in attending the Second Asian Economic Seminar to explore and study together with the delegates from Asian countries and territories and with friends from Africa, Australasia and other regions the question of developing the independent national economy of Asian countries and enhancing economic co-operation among them.

Our current Seminar is held in the heroic city Pyongyang, capital of the great Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In spite of the serious damages inflicted upon it by U.S. aggressors during the War of Liberation of the Fatherland of Korea, Pyongyang has been built into a much more magnificent and beautiful new city within a short time as a result of the hard work of the Korean people with their own hands. The holding of this Seminar in Pyongyang is of particular significance.

The great Korean people under the correct and brilliant leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Premier Kim Il Sung have scored most remarkable achievements in socialist revolution and construction. The revolutionary spirit of the Korean people of persisting in the development of an independent national economy by relying on their own efforts and their heroism in the "Flying Horse" movement is an example for us. We the Chinese delegation wish to take the opportunity of our participation in this Seminar to express our warm greetings and

high respects to the heroic people of Korea, to the Korean Workers' Party and Government which are leading the Korean people in their march towards victory, and to Premier Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people. We also wish to express our resolute support to the anti-U.S. imperialist patriotic and just struggle of the people in the southern part of Korea. And we wish the Korean people more and greater victories in their struggle for the peaceful unification of their fatherland.

At the inaugural ceremony, we had the honour of listening to the speech by His Excellency Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, with which we fully agree. From the bottom of our hearts, we thank the Korean Workers' Party, Government and the Korean people for the immeasurable support and inspiration they have given to this Seminar. We also wish to express our appreciation to our Korean hosts for the satisfactory arrangements and the important contributions they have made in the preparatory work of the Seminar. We are also grateful to them for the great care and warm and cordial reception they have extended to us.

We also had the opportunity of listening with great interest to the speech by Mme. Theja Gunawardhana, Chairman of the Asian Economic Seminar Bureau. In her speech, Mme. Gunawardhana has made penetrating analysis of the situation and tasks our Asian Economic Seminar is facing and has fully expounded the great significance of our current Seminar. We are in full agreement with her. We wish also to avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our sincere appreciations to Mme. Gunawardhana and the Asian Economic Seminar Bureau for their conscientiousness in work in the past year.

Four days have elapsed since the opening of our Seminar during which the Korean, Indonesian and other delegates have made valuable and illuminating reports and many other delegates and friends have also addressed the meeting and made contributions. We the Chinese delegation are much benefited by these speeches. Today I wish to make a few observations on the question of Enhancing the Economic Co-operation among Asian Countries on the Basis of Self-Reliance in order to Promote the Development of Independent National Economy. Your comments and criticism will be appreciated.

## I

Fellow delegates and friends, we Asian countries are faced with a common task of integrating the struggle against the intervention, sub-

version and aggression by imperialism and old and new colonialism with the struggle against their exploitation, control and plunder; and of integrating the winning and safeguarding of political independence with the development of an independent national economy so as to turn the Asian countries into new states which are independent, free, prosperous and strong.

As we all know, in spite of the repeated defeats the imperialists have suffered in Asia and other parts of the world, they will never withdraw of their own accord. Imperialism headed by the United States is intensifying aggression, intervention and subversion, politically and militarily, and is resorting to various tactics of exploitation, control and plunder. Certain persons, with their eyes shut to facts, wilfully assert that colonialism has nearly vanished, and that the national liberation movement has entered a so-called "new stage" with economic development as its central task. Such assertions evidently serve to camouflage the aggression and plundering of Asia and other parts of the world by neo-colonialism represented by the United States and to cover up the sharp contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations, thus attempting to paralyze the revolutionary fighting will of the people of these countries. We must thoroughly expose and refute such absurdities. We should be ever more closely united, and carry to the end the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. Otherwise, it would not be possible to preserve world peace, to achieve the liberation of the oppressed nations, to safeguard national independence nor to carry on economic construction successfully.

In opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war, we should at the same time eliminate the remnant forces of colonialism, actively develop an independent national economy and change the state of poverty and backwardness left over by the rule of imperialism and colonialism. We Asian people are fully aware that without a genuine and consolidated economic independence, there will be no consolidated and complete political independence. The development of an independent national economy is an essential part of the cause of national liberation.

In order to win national independence, we Asian countries have waged a protracted and arduous struggle. Now, to develop an independent national economy, we still have to wage a protracted arduous struggle.

## II

The fundamental way of developing an independent national economy is to carry on economic construction on the basis of self-reliance, by relying on the efforts of our own people and our own resources, and at the same time we should enhance the economic co-operation and mutual support of the Asian, African and Latin American countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. We are convinced that so long as we persistently follow such a path and make unremitting efforts, we shall certainly be able to rid ourselves of the control, oppression and exploitation by colonialism old and new; we shall certainly be able to turn the economically poor and backward Asia into a prosperous and strong continent.

The report made by the Korean delegate fully shows that self-reliance is the most effective means for developing an independent national economy and for ensuring the smooth progress of revolution and construction. This is what the people of many Asian countries, as well as the people of African and Latin American countries, including the Chinese people have deeply realised from their own experience. Self-reliance means to rely mainly on the enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness of the masses of the people of one's own country and to rely on the internal resources and the accumulation of capital in the country, in order to expand national construction, improve the people's livelihood and develop national economy; it means to manufacture by itself as far as possible all products the country needs and where conditions permit, to master as quickly as possible the technique and experience needed for the development of the economy of the country and train its own technical and management personnel; it also means to place the whole economic construction mainly on the foundation of the man power, material and finance of the country. Self-reliance is in conformity with the fundamental and long-term interests of the Asian peoples, as well as the African and Latin American peoples, and represents the aspirations of these peoples for their national construction and for a better life.

The imperialists have been propagating absurd ideas that we Asian people are "imbecile", "ignorant" and of "inferior race". Their aim is to undermine our confidence, and to deprive us of our ideals and aspirations so as to make us willingly serve forever as their slaves. It is true that not a few Asian countries are still economically relatively backward at present, which is the result of the long years of aggression, plunder

and rule by imperialism and colonialism. However, such backwardness can only be a temporary phenomenon. Once the Asian people become masters of their own countries, holding their destiny in their own hands and also holding firm in their own hands the economic sovereignty and economic arteries of their national economy, they will be able to change effectively the state of backwardness and make great achievements. The achievements already made by the independent Asian countries in the development of national economy fully demonstrate that there exist a potentiality of unlimited strength and inexhaustible wisdom among us Asian peoples, and that we are able to speedily develop our national economy, skilfully master the advanced scientific technique and effectively manage modern economic undertakings.

In developing an independent national economy, the Asian countries should, apart from relying on their own efforts, actively develop their economic co-operation. Such economic co-operation should be in conformity with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, without any privileges or conditions attached and beneficial to national independence and the sound development of national economy of the countries concerned. Self-reliance and such economic co-operation promote each other, and do not exclude each other. The more a country carries on its construction through the efforts of its own people, the more will it be able to increase its economic strength, and the more will it be able to develop economic co-operation with friendly countries; the more developed the economic co-operation among friendly countries is, the more will they be able to supplement to each other's needs and the more will it be beneficial to further developing the strength of self-reliance of the respective countries. Only by integrating properly self-reliance with economic co-operation, will it be possible to lay a solid foundation for an independent economy and develop and strengthen the anti-imperialist forces of the Asian peoples.

It is the universal aspiration and common desire of the Asian peoples to develop economic co-operation among their countries. They have had the same experience and face similar situation, that is why they can best appreciate each other's feelings, understand each other's needs and help each other in difficulties and treat each other as equals.

There exist very favourable conditions for the development of economic co-operation among the Asian countries.



Asia has a big population, and its people is industrious and courageous, working hard and living simply. They form a powerful productive force, capable of creating great material wealth.

Asia is one of the world's biggest continents. There are natural conditions favourable for the growth of plants and animals of all kinds. The Asian countries are rich in agricultural, mineral and other resources. Asia produces rice, cotton, rubber, jute, coal, iron, petroleum, tin, tungsten, antimony, etc., which all hold extremely important place in the world. As long as the Asian peoples take completely into their own hands these abundant resources, scattered in different countries and territories, these resources will form the great material basis for each making up what others lack, for mutual support and common development among the Asian countries.

In not a few branches of production, especially in agriculture, mining and handicraft, many Asian countries have accumulated rich experiences. At present, in the course of developing their national economy, the people of various countries are creating new experiences and mastering new techniques. This is also very important to the development of economic co-operation among the Asian countries.

In recent years, the economic co-operation among the Asian countries has made considerable progress and yielded positive results. However, the present economic co-operation among the Asian countries is still in the initial stage. Its projects are not yet large either in number or in scale. This reflects on the one hand the fact that the national economy of some Asian countries is for the time being not yet highly developed, and on the other hand, it is also the result of the obstacle created by the imperialists over a long period to prevent the contacts and exchanges among the Asian countries. We believe that, with the increase of exchanges and the deepening of mutual understanding among the people of the various countries, the economic ties among them will certainly expand step by step.

To develop an independent economy along the line of self-reliance does not mean of course the exclusion of foreign aid. In developing our national economy, we Asian countries, while primarily relying on our own efforts, also need the assistance of friendly nations. However, such aid must be in strict accord with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, under which the country which provides aid must not entertain motives of national

egoism and must not use foreign aid as means to interfere and control the recipient countries.

During his visit to Africa, Premier Chou En-lai emphatically expounded the eight principles strictly followed by the Chinese government in providing economic and technical assistance to foreign countries:—

These eight principles constitute an important component part of our foreign policy, giving expression to the sincere desire of the Chinese people to conduct economic co-operation with other Asian and African countries. However, due to the fact that, having just started our national construction, we are not yet strong enough economically, the aid we provide to other countries is somewhat limited. It is especially worthy of mentioning that the struggles waged by the peoples of various countries against imperialism, old and new colonialism is the greatest support and assistance to the Chinese people. Besides, quite a few countries have rendered China economic and technical assistance. Therefore, the assistance between peoples of the various countries is always mutual. We always maintain that those countries which attained independence earlier are in duty bound to help those which attained independence at a later period, and that those countries which are more developed economically are in duty bound to assist those which are less developed at present. This is also the view shared by the people of many countries. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, two socialist countries, are doing their utmost to assist other countries in spite of the fact that they are facing the serious threat posed by the U.S. imperialist aggression. China, likewise, has also done what she can to provide a certain amount of economic and technical aid to some Asian countries and other parts of the world. We are convinced that with the continuous upsurge of the national economy of the Asian countries, as well as African and Latin American countries, the mutual assistance among the Asian countries and among the Asian, African and Latin American countries will surely be further developed.

### III

The economic co-operation among the Asian countries based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit is diametrically different from the so-called "economic co-operation" advocated by the imperialists and all national egoists. The imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, always hypocritically pretend to sympathise with the Asian peoples, declaring their willingness to help the Asian countries to eliminate poverty

and backwardness and to establish relations of friendly co-operation with them. But, behind these fine words, the U.S. imperialists have always used the so-called "economic co-operation" and "economic aid" as instruments to pursue their policies of aggression and war and to plunder and exploit the Asian peoples.

The U.S. imperialists always use their so-called "economic aid" to try by all means to encroach on the independence and sovereignty of other countries, interfere in their internal affairs and even to subvert their governments. Through "co-operation" and "aid", the U.S. imperialists often control the economic arteries of other countries, impairing their national industries and impeding the development of their national economy.

Through the so-called "co-operation" and "aid", the U.S. imperialists often acquire privileges to export capital, dump commodities, and grab important raw materials and strategic materials in other countries and ruthlessly plunder the Asian peoples. As admitted by President Johnson of the United States, 80% of the U.S. aid is to be spent on the purchase of American goods. According to various U.S. laws concerning foreign aid, at least half of the U.S. aid materials must be transported by American ships. And the prices of American goods and the American shipping charges are much higher than those of other countries. The U.S. Department of Commerce has also admitted that as far as many varieties of capital goods are concerned, American prices are much higher than her competitors, even by 40%. The amount of wealth the U.S. imperialists have plundered from the Asian peoples, as well as the African and Latin American peoples, is terrific. According to the statistics given by the August 1963 issue of the "Survey of Current Business" published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the private direct investments of the United States in Asia in 1962 amount to U.S. \$2,495 million and the profit on this capital for the same year amounts to U.S. \$1,048 million. Most of these investments are made in the branches of the extracting industries, especially oil. The private direct investments of the United States in petroleum in the Middle East in 1962 amount to U.S. \$1,148 million, while the profit on these investments amounts to U.S. \$845 million.

The United States and other imperialist countries, making use of their monopoly of the world-market and other kinds of privileges, purchase the agricultural and mineral products of the Asian countries at

extremely low monopoly prices and sell to these countries manufactured goods at extremely high prices, thus reaping huge profits. According to the price index published in the January 1964 issue of the "U.N. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics" and the volume of trade published in its March 1964 issue, during the ten years from 1951 to 1961, the prices of agricultural and mineral products (not including oil) exported by the Asian and African countries fell by 29.7% while the prices of manufactured goods imported mounted by 7.6%. As a result of this alone, the Asian and African countries further lost about U.S. \$3,900 million in 1961 as compared with 1951.

Moreover, U.S. imperialism has in the name of "economic co-operation" carried out economic aggression by manipulating the United Nations or other world and regional economic organizations. So far, the United Nations and its agencies such as the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association, and the International Monetary Fund, etc., are all directly or indirectly controlled and used by U.S. imperialism. Regional organizations established according to the intentions of the United States also serve the interests of the U.S. monopoly capital.

The modern revisionists are also advocating their so-called "economic co-operation" and "economic aid". But they have no really sincere desire to help the Asian countries, or the African countries, to develop their independent national economy. They do not mean what they say and their words are not borne out by deeds. What they boast about only serves their purposes of great power chauvinism and national egoism.

The modern revisionists are trumpeting forth that they want to work together with U.S. imperialism to "aid" the economically less developed countries. They spare no effort in publicizing their so-called "economic co-operation" between the oppressed nations and the imperialists, asserting that the backward countries should rely on the United Nations and that the whole world is looking upon the two great powers to "help" the economically backward countries to get on their feet more quickly. They preach that the money saved from disarmament can be used to aid the economically less developed countries, that "disarmament would create proper conditions for a tremendous increase in the scale of assistance to the newly established national states . . . It would be possible to end hunger, disease, illiteracy in the distressed areas of the globe within 20 years". All this is to create illusions among the Asian and African

peoples about the "aid" by U.S. imperialism, and to embellish U.S. imperialism. Actually this is to paralyze the revolutionary fighting will of the people of various countries and to persuade them by means of "aid" to give up their anti-imperialist struggles.

The modern revisionists, regarding themselves as benefactors, always boast of their "disinterested aid" to other countries. As a matter of fact, their "aid" is not only not disinterested, but is of a great-power-chauvinist and national egoist nature. In their economic relations with the Asian and African countries, there are often cases in which they have no respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Asian and African countries, and flagrantly interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. They do not sincerely help the Asian and African countries to develop their independent national economies, but demand that some of these countries become their suppliers of raw materials and even control the economic lifelines of other countries; they do not trade at reasonable and mutually beneficial prices, but cut down the prices of imports while raising the prices of exports; they do not respect the wishes of the other party, nor take into consideration its needs, but impose their will on it. In dealing with the Asian and African countries, they sometimes provide the machinery while holding back the key machine units and parts; sometimes they provide equipment while holding back the technique, trying all they can to make the Asian and African countries economically dependent on them. In order to impose on other people their revisionist line of not opposing imperialism and not waging revolutionary struggles, they have even gone so far as to cancel aid, withdraw experts, and tear off contracts as means of applying pressure. These acts are all incompatible with the principles of internationalism, discrediting the socialist countries, are in violation of the fundamental interest of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and running counter to the wishes of their own people.

While we stand for the development of economic co-operation among the Asian countries, we are also in favour of developing economic co-operation among the Asian and African countries and between the Asian and African countries and the countries in other parts of the world. We are most sympathetic with some newly independent states over the various difficulties they are now faced with, and we also understand the desire many countries have for aid. But we resolutely oppose the economic penetration and aggression by imperialism and old and

new colonialism under the name of "economic co-operation" and "economic aid", and resolutely oppose great power chauvinism and national egoism in all forms.

#### IV

Dear friends, to develop economic co-operation among the Asian countries on the basis of self-reliance is in accord with their fundamental interests, and is also the common aspiration of the peoples of Asia. We should consolidate the achievements already made, actively create conditions and strive for the gradual expansion of the economic co-operation among the Asian countries and among the Asian, African and Latin American countries and for the common economic upsurge of these countries. With this end in view, the Chinese delegation would like to put forward the following proposals:

1. The Asian countries should, by way of consultations, take concerted steps, adopt positive and effective measures together to oppose the economic control and infiltration, trade restrictions and discrimination, dumping of goods in other countries, monopoly of markets, manipulation of prices, blockade and embargo and all other forms of economic aggression by imperialism and old and new colonialism and all other outside forces, thus to safeguard national sovereignty and to win economic independence.

2. The Asian countries should in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, and according to their needs and possibilities, actively and gradually expand economic and technical co-operation in trade, agriculture, industry, communication and transportation, scientific research, etc., so as to further promote the development of the national economy in each country, speed up the elimination of poverty and backwardness caused by imperialism and colonialism, and realize their common prosperity and strength.

3. The Asian countries should, in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit and according to their needs and possibilities, gradually and reasonably expand trade among themselves. To this end, the most favoured nation treatment or preferential treatment should be extended to each other reciprocally as far as tariff and other matters are concerned. In importing primary products, semi-manufactured and manufactured goods needed for the development of national economy,

priority should be given to Asian countries, conditions should be created for the gradual development of multi-lateral trade and multi-lateral clearance. Positive steps should be taken to stabilize the export prices of the main primary products of this area. Those Asian countries with better shipping facilities should provide facilities to other countries in transportation, and fair freight rate should be worked out.

4. The Asian countries should, according to their needs and possibilities, gradually expand their mutual economic and technical assistance on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, equality, mutual benefit, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The economic and technical assistance provided should bring real benefit to the recipient country, proceed from the practical situation and needs of the recipient country and be contributive to the development of its independent national economy. The projects of construction provided by such assistance should, as far as possible, require less investment, while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient country may increase its financial income, accumulate capital and expand reproduction. The materials and equipment provided should have the guaranteed quality and be up to the agreed specifications. In providing technical assistance, whatever kind it may be, all the technique should be taught without reservation to the technicians and workers of the recipient country.

5. The Asian countries should actively and gradually develop their scientific and technical co-operation. They should, according to their needs and possibilities, exchange data in economic construction and exchange the results of scientific and technical research. They should extend the contacts among the economic, scientific and technical circles and select some topics of common interest for carrying out research and exploration, in order to serve the economic development of the Asian and African countries.

6. For the enhancement of economic co-operation among the Asian countries, they should hold periodically or otherwise meetings at which they may, in the spirit of seeking common grounds while setting aside differences and seeking unanimity through consultation, discuss problems of common concern, and exchange experiences, so as to achieve common understanding and conclusions.

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The Chinese delegation hopes that these proposals will be discussed, revised and supplemented by fellow delegates and friends so as to be made more solid and complete.

Fellow delegates and friends, our Seminar has been going on very well. We believe that with our joint efforts the Seminar will certainly be able to achieve positive results. It will further promote the development of the independent national economy of Asian countries and economic co-operation among them.

We are delighted to learn that the proposed Afro-Asian Economic Seminar which has been decided upon at the Third Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference will be held in Algeria. We warmly welcome and sincerely support the convening of the Afro-Asian Economic Seminar. We hope that the Second Asian Economic Seminar will make positive contributions to the preparations for the Afro-Asian Economic Seminar.

It should be pointed out in particular that the Second Asian and African Conference will be held in March next year. The Conference is of vital importance to the strengthening of solidarity, winning and safeguarding of national independence and developing economic co-operation among Asian and African countries. We warmly welcome and resolutely support the calling of the Second Asian and African Conference. We hope that the Second Asian Economic Seminar will be able to advance positive recommendations based on our common views to the Second Asian and African Conference for the consideration by the heads of states of Asia and Africa in their study of the question of economic development and co-operation.

Fellow delegates and friends, this is a time when the oppressed peoples and nations are emancipating themselves, imperialism and colonialism are nearing their doom and in Asia, Africa and Latin America the people are rapidly awakening and the national democratic movement is forging ahead vigorously. The people of many countries are striving to eliminate the remnant forces of imperialism and colonialism and to build up their own new countries, and they have scored many important achievements. Having won political independence, we the peoples of various countries will certainly be able to win economic independence. In the struggle to win and safeguard national independence, we have always been encouraging and supporting each other. So we will do the same in developing our independent national economy. Let the imperialists and their mouthpiece say that we are no good for this and that. We will take upon ourselves the great responsibilities of the time, strengthen our unity, work closely together, overcome all difficulties and march forward courageously.



## BAK YUNG GEUN (Korea)

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates,

I heard with deep interest the report made by the Chinese delegation and I express my endorsement to it.

The report presented by the delegation of the Chinese People's Republic made an analysis of problems, which have the significance of principle in economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries, and advanced pertinent proposals.

As pointed out in the report and discussions, it is of great importance to strengthen and develop economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries.

The countries in these regions which are forging ahead along the road of independent development now keenly feel the necessity for doing away with the dependent and abnormal economic relations with the imperialists and of further strengthening economic intercourse among them.

When Afro-Asian countries strengthen economic co-operation among themselves, they will be able jointly to defend themselves from the aggression and plunder by the imperialist monopolies, and independent economic development will be expedited in these countries. Mutual economic co-operation and the steady consolidation of ties among Afro-Asian countries will be greatly conducive to strengthening solidarity among these countries which are opposing imperialism and colonialism.

Today Afro-Asian countries have conditions and possibilities for further strengthening economic co-operation and mutual aid.

The common stand and solidarity in the international relations among the peoples of these regions constitute an important condition for strengthening economic co-operation.

Almost all of the countries in these regions were colonies or semi-colonies of the imperialists in the past, and the peoples there have all fought, and are fighting, shoulder to shoulder, against the plunder and oppression by foreign aggressors.

The peoples of these countries who have inherited a backward economy, are striving for the development of an independent national economy against economic aggression and plunder by the imperialists.

The bitter life-experiences of the past and the common stand of today make them understand each other well, develop and relations of friendship and co-operation and unite firmly with each other.

And, as many delegates pointed out in their speeches, the Afro-Asian countries are endowed with richer natural resources and more favourable natural conditions than in any other areas. If these bountiful resources and favourable natural conditions are effectively utilized for the independent development of the countries, the economic intercourse and co-operation among these countries can be expanded and developed by a wide margin. To expand and develop the economic co-operation among the Asian and African countries banking on these conditions and possibilities, they must be established on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The aim of economic co-operative among us is to contribute to the liquidation of the colonial structure of the economy and the building of an independent economy in each country.

The political sovereignty of each country, therefore, must be respected unconditionally, and its basic principle must be to co-operate with each other on a completely equal footing.

The imperialists dislike the development of these relations among the Asian and African countries but are trying to obstruct it and persisting in vicious attempts to enslave and plunder these countries.

If any country tries to get unreasonable profit or attain any political aim under the cloak of economic co-operation and aid, it cannot on any account be a genuine aid, nor can it be of any help in consolidating the economic and political independence of the recipient countries.

Imposing some kind of attendant conditions on the other side in economic co-operation between nations is, in the final analysis, tantamount to the creation of conditions for interfering in the internal affairs and encroaching upon the sovereignty of the other side.

In order successfully to develop economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries, it is also necessary to adhere to the principle of mutual benefit.

In the economic co-operation and mutual assistance between these countries it can by no means be tolerated for any one side to try to have its own way in everything, demand high prices and attach political strings.

Only when the principles of equality, mutual benefit, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs are strictly observed in economic co-operation and mutual assistance between countries, can they become genuine co-operation and assistance.

Economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries should serve the purpose of promoting the building of an independent national economy in each of these countries.

The question of building an independent national economy concerns the vital interests of the peoples of these countries and only when the building of an independent economy is promoted can international economic co-operation be steadily expanded and strengthened on a sound basis.

To develop economic intercourse at the sacrifice of the construction of an independent national economy runs counter to the aspiration of the peoples of these regions for achieving independence and self-reliance and is tantamount to undermining the foundation for stronger economic co-operation.

We deem it necessary to tackle the following problem for strengthening the economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries in conformity with the aforesaid requirements of principle:

It would be necessary to solve first of all the problem of creating conditions for developing mutual economic co-operation on a solid basis by concluding bilateral agreements between the governments of Afro-Asian countries.

The economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries is one of the important problems arising in new historic conditions. It is a way of reconversion from the economic relations with the imperialist countries which have been formed over many centuries and a creative way for realizing the common aspiration.

In order to establish and consolidate new relations of co-operation in this era of reconversion, it is of prime importance for the countries of these regions to take active, initiative measures.

The governments of the newborn independent countries in Asia and Africa have favourable material conditions for promoting the international relations of co-operation among them. Some newly-independent nations of Africa have set up state development companies which produce and control export goods, and newborn independent countries of South-East Asia have placed the activities of private foreign trade agencies under the State control and the State is controlling 40 to 50 per cent of imports, too.

If the Afro-Asian countries conclude government-to-government agreements for developing normal relations of economic co-operation and, even in the absence of diplomatic relations, exchange representations for promoting economic interflow, this will mark a new turn in the development of relations of economic co-operation among these countries.

In our opinion, it would be more effective if the inter-government agreements among the Afro-Asian countries, especially between the socialist countries and newly-independent nations, take the form of long-term bilateral agreements.

Under the conditions in which many national states of Asia and Africa have set their long-range goal of economic construction and the socialist countries have their own scientific, long-term plans, the conclusion of long-term economic agreements between these countries will ensure planned progress of capital construction and export, long-range organization of commodity production and their marketing.

The conclusion and implementation of economic agreements based on long-range plans will organically link the concrete processes of the building of independent national economies with the relations of economic co-operation, thereby facilitating the rapid progress of economic construction.

For the smooth realization of economic co-operation among the Afro-Asian countries, all forms and methods of economic co-operation should be made available in a multilateral way, such as trade, scientific and technical co-operation, exchange of experience, financial assistance, etc. A good many Afro-Asian countries have to do away with the crippled economic structure of the days gone by, set up and develop national industry, undertake the technical reconstruction of the rural economy, train hosts of national technical personnel and enliven their home markets, too.

Such complex tasks of economic construction confronting us all make it incumbent upon our countries to develop in a many-sided way all forms of co-operation in our economic relations.

In view of the fact that each form of economic co-operation has a distinct aspect of serving the building of an independent national economy, all the diverse forms of economic co-operation might effectively help promote the whole construction work for economic independence, only when they are made use of in a multilateral way.

Since, the development of trade relations will be dealt with separately, I should like to make a few points only on scientific and technical co-operation and swapping of experience.

The Afro-Asian countries have certain differences in their levels of economic development. Yet, each nation and people have a wealth of experiences in economic construction and specific technique in certain fields.

Therefore, when all countries exchange their store of valuable experiences open-mindedly and modestly, this will greatly make for the speedy construction of a self-supporting economy in each country.

The strengthening of broad economic and technical ties will redouble the forces for shattering new aggression and economic infiltration by the old and new colonialists and opposing imperialism, and further cement our international solidarity.

What is important in scientific and technical co-operation is to see that there should be no political strings attached to it, that it should be cheap economically and be most effective technically. Only under such a condition can it fully conduce to the construction of an independent national economy in the newborn independent countries and enable them to shake off at the earliest date their dependence on imperialist powers for technique.

Along with the strengthening of scientific and technical co-operation, extensive exchange of the advanced experiences accumulated in the fields of economic and cultural construction and educational work will enable one to take a nearer way to building a independent national economy.

To develop economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries it is necessary to find a reasonable solution for the problems of transport, communications, liquidation, etc., which are indispensable attendant conditions for it.

In the spheres of transport, communications and settlement of international accounts, Afro-Asian countries are not yet free from the old pattern established by the imperialists. Ships of West European capitalist countries are employed predominantly in the sea-born transport for those countries, and in the international telegraphic and telephone service, the system arranged in favour of imperialist monopolies are hampering the smooth communications between the newborn independent countries, and the centres of international liquidation and still London and New York. At present, Afro-Asian countries are dependent on the ships of imperialist powers for the transport of 90 per cent of their trade goods. As a result, eight countries in South-East Asia alone suffered a loss of 215 million dollars under the freightage item in the invisible trade balance in the 1959-60 financial year.

Since the banking agencies belonging to the financial capital such as the "Bank of England" and "Bank of the U.S.A." control the settlement of international accounts, an enormous amount of money is paid by these countries to those agencies in terms of interest and commission.

It is necessary, therefore, for the Afro-Asian countries to conclude bilateral agreements on international mail and communications service so as to provide each other with the greatest convenience in this sphere. And I consider it necessary to introduce as soon as possible a settlement system advantageous and convenient to both sides by establishing extensively the relations of transaction and settlement between the national banks of each country.

Let us further strengthen and develop economic co-operation and mutual assistance among us so as to further display the great might of unity in shattering aggression by the old and new colonialists headed by U.S. imperialism and eradicating its consequences!

We note with pleasure the daily developing economic co-operation among the Afro-Asian nations and we will make untiring efforts for its further strengthening and development.

We heard with deep interest the reports delivered by the delegates of Indonesia, Cameroons, the Congo (Leopoldville), our close friends from the Asian and African continents, and the speeches by other delegates. We support them all.

We express our deep gratitude to the Afro-Asian delegates for their support to the struggle of the Korean people for the unification of the

country against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their high appreciation of our achievements.

Their support is a great encouragement for the Korean people in their struggle.

I take this opportunity to express our heartfelt gratitude to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are always supporting the struggle of our people.

We fully support the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for freedom, independence and liberation in opposition to imperialism and colonialism and will do our utmost, shoulder to shoulder with them for the victory in our common cause.

Long live friendship and unity between the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Let us drive out the imperialist aggressors headed by U.S. imperialism from Asia, Africa and Latin America!

## SUPRIJO (Indonesia)

On this occasion on behalf of the Indonesian delegation I thank the Chinese delegation who has presented an excellent report to our Seminar regarding international economic co-operation and the development of independent national economy. Up to the present we note the documents on the principles of self-reliance in the economic development, on neo-colonialism and Asian and African economies and the international economic co-operation. When completed with the next report which will be forwarded by our Japanese friend then I believe the Seminar will have a valuable overall picture on the economic and political situation of Asia and Africa.

The speeches made by our various delegations who actively contributed to the enrichment of materials in the economic and political field, left no doubt that our common struggle for economic emancipation and full political independence is that of facing the main common enemy that is the U.S. imperialism with firm determination.

Paying special attention to the report by Mr. Nan Han Chen, I would like to make some remarks on special subjects in the Report.

*Firstly*, that no illusions should be held that without a fierce struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism headed by the U.S., a genuine independent national economy can be achieved.

There is no room for having a false idea that at this present time colonialism is nearly vanished, and that the national liberation movement has so-called entered a "new stage" whose economic development is its central task.

*Secondly*, we are convinced that independent national economy in this era can only be achieved, through an economic construction on the basis of self-reliance, by relying on the effort of our own people and our own resources. Additionally co-operation must be made among AA countries based on the "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence" and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference.

That economic independence is the basis of political independence, and that nations economically dependent on foreign imperialism cannot



be essentially free from political subjugation and plunder by the imperialists, even if they attain, nominal, political independence.

*Thirdly*, that so-called “economic co-operation” and “economic aid” advocated by the U.S. imperialist and their like is only a pretext to secure his dominated interest. All exposure made by our Chinese friend Mr. Nan in his report on so-called “economic aid and economic co-operation pursued by the U.S. imperialist and modern revisionist” is in conformity with the reality and experiences in the recipient country.

Basic papers presented before us, and also speeches delivered in this Seminar perfectly analysed those problems, and also showed rightly the way out in solving those problems.

Moreover it is fitting, I believe, to recall the historic Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955, which give impetus to the struggle then being waged by many still dependent peoples for political and economic independence. From the Conference, the voice of a united Asia-Africa was first heard proclaiming the right of all peoples to self-determination, national freedom and economic emancipation. A mighty national revolutionary wave has swept Asia and spread to Africa. The people whom the colonialist characterized as “natives incapable of governing themselves” are taking their destinies into their own hands and showing the world that they are mature and quite capable of self-government.

I quoted Mr. Nan Han Chen who said “the imperialists have been propagating absurd ideas that we Asian-African people are “imbecile”, “ignorant” and of “inferior race”. Their aim is to undermine our confidence, and to deprive us of our ideals and aspirations so as to make us forever their “slaves”.

Another form of propagating the same wrong ideas by the imperialist is “Jim Crowism”, “Colorbar”, “Apartheid”, “indolent”, “lazy people”, etc., with the aim to undermine our confidence, our ability and our capability for the sake of their own interest.

But, now we live in the era of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, the era of the awakening and regeneration of the Asian-African-Latin American peoples. That is one of the distinguished features of the day.

Moreover the people in Asia-Africa have a new weapon, that is:

1. The strong solidarity among AA nations.

2. The confidence to develop her own economy by way of self-reliance.

3. Co-operation among AA countries based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. This is mighty weapon indeed in the hands of the AA peoples to encourage the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States. A weapon that can ensure our struggle for the establishment of a world society free from the exploitation de l'homme par l'homme and exploitation de nation par nation, a world society truly reflective of the revolutionary tenor of our age.

The Chinese basic paper proposed six items in order to consolidate the achievements already made in economic co-operation among Asian countries. All these six items proposed, are actually in conformity with our present needs *vis a vis* the economic development and the common economic upsurge in Asia as well as in Africa and Latin America.

The scope of these six proposals is wide, comprising many aspects of co-operation in a large area of economical field and also in economical possibilities.

*Add to proposal number 1.*—Urgently proposed is the common fight against neo-colonialism in practice. Inter-alia, the practice of market domination by the imperialist in order to secure cheap raw materials for gaining multiple profit, manipulation in prices by way of stockpile disposals, etc., creating economic grouping and apply discrimination as in the ECM (European Common Market), etc., and also force other countries to be appendages for raw material resources.

Imperialistic market domination means also controlling of raw material price such as rubber price which is harmful for the rubber producing countries. On the other hand imperialism applies dumping policy such as Surplus Agricultural Commodities which also affects harmfully countries in Asia-Africa as well as Oceania. Especially Oceania is not only harmfully affected by the creation of the European Common Market but also from the dumping policy made by the U.S. imperialist. By exercising this SAC policy U.S. imperialism tries to secure overproduction as one of the features of capitalism.

*Add to proposal number 2.*—This gives a wide scope of economical co-operation, so that we can urge our respective governments to seek economic co-operation sincerely among the AA countries in order to

enlarge the economical co-operation inter-alia in trade, agriculture, industry, communication, transportation, and scientific research. In trade, we could also specially realize co-operation in commodities trade for regions which produces same commodities, like rubber, cotton, cocoa, copra etc. in order to maintain proper prices for the benefit of the respective producing countries, not for the benefit of the imperialist countries only as now.

The other proposals can be dwelt deeply, more and more, but according to the character of this seminar and also because of very limited time we have, the six proposals forwarded by our esteemed friend from China could be considered as a valuable contribution to this seminar, and also for further consideration by our Asian Economic Bureau.

Finally on behalf of the Indonesian delegation to this seminar, we fully endorse the report forwarded by our Chinese friend Mr. Nan Han Chen under the heading "On enhancing the economic cooperation among Asian countries on the basis of self-reliance in order to promote the development of independent national economy".

## POORNA BAHADUR (Nepal)

Allow me to speak a few words on China's paper on "On Enhancing the Economic Co-operation, etc.". Its touching exposition of the imperialists propagating absurd ideas that we Asian peoples are "imbecile, ignorant and of inferior race" in order to undermine our confirmation and deprive us of our ideas and aspirations so as to make us willingly serve forever as their slaves, helps to explain the need for a revolutionary attitude against the imperialists.

The next point is on foreign aid. China's Formulation of the Eight Principles as a condition for giving foreign aid is entirely a new phase and a revolutionary step against the so-called "aid" by the imperialists and the neo-colonialists. We fully endorse China's opposition to big power or big neighbour chauvinism. I mention as an example of the ludicrousness of so-called foreign aid by India to Nepal in a water-power project called Irisuli Project, wherein the foreign exchange is to be supported by Nepal. Just see the fun of India's foreign aid. Remember, friends, how we gave India the concession to harness our river Keri which used to be India's sorrow.

I wish also to comment on shipping, insurance, etc., which is monopolized surely by the imperialists. They hold this strategic monopoly too. In my last report, I mentioned the reduction in freight and insurance charges only. We all know that the Afro-Asian countries possess so far little resources at their disposal. Here also I fully endorse China's suggestion that more of us Afro-Asian countries which possess more resources however little they may be should give preferences to Afro-Asian countries, or to build up the resource upon mutual consultations and co-operation. Finally Mr. Chairman and friends, permit me to allow my delegation full endorsement on the six proposals as contained in part 4 of China's Basic Paper — they positively contribute to the advancement of Afro-Asian economic co-operation and that of consolidating further Afro-Asian solidarity.

## **ABA GANDZION (Congo (B))**

The delegation of Congo (Brazzaville) gives full support to the report on economic co-operation, presented by the Chinese delegation. However, I would like to make some observations on this report.

The report has mentioned only the economic co-operation between the Asian countries.

We think that the Seminar should also study ways of extending the range of this economic co-operation to the African countries which are really determined to combat imperialism both in the political and economic fields and build an independent national economy.

This economic co-operation will enable many Asian and African countries which have just overthrown the reactionary regime in the service of imperialism to consolidate the still fragile gains of revolution.

Indeed, such is the case of our country, the Congo (Brazzaville) where the genuine revolutionary forces, in order to overthrow the neo-colonialist regime of Fulbert Youlou, the menial of the Franco-American imperialists, had to form a front with certain other forces which had a different conception from ours as regards the building of the country in the future; these forces, however, were in favour of overthrowing the puppet regime of Youlou.

It is for this reason that we believe that Afro-Asian economic co-operation, on the basis of mutual benefit, will help in the consolidation of the revolution in our country and in Africa, making it possible to build, with investment at least, an independent national economy, relying, of course, on our own forces.

In the report presented by the Chinese delegate, a very important question was brought up, the question of the conception of aid to other countries.

In fact, contrary to the forms of imperialist and other aid which makes the recipient countries dependent on their suppliers, the aid of People's China has the merit of making the recipient countries really independent through self-reliance.

We believe that this point of view is very important, because certain imperialist countries and others, precisely by means of aid, try to impose their points of view on the countries receiving it.

That is why we cannot put too much stress on the very important point of view raised by the Chinese comrade, for, we believe, the very important conception of aid should be that aid must be a means of making the recipient countries not dependent on those who give it, but on the contrary, make them independent, and it is also precisely for this reason that we want to make a little contribution to what has been put forward herein the report of the Chinese comrade. We propose, lastly, the study on the establishment of an Afro-Asian bank of economic development.

This is precisely to facilitate the struggle against the economic organizations of imperialists. Because we believe that it is only by instituting such a bank that the Afro-Asian countries, firmly resolved to fight against the domination, both political and economic, of the imperialists, will be able to become really independent and shatter the domination of imperialism over their economy and their countries.

In reality, if, at first, certain Afro-Asian countries are unable directly to contribute funds to feed this bank, they will be able, by means of exporting certain raw materials, to pay, precisely through this channel, their quotas to this bank of Afro-Asian economic development.

We propose that in the first stage to be called "neutral", perhaps neither all Asian countries nor all African countries will take part in it, and this will be sure. But Afro-Asian countries really determined to fight against imperialism will take part.

And I believe that this will allow us to help better the Afro-Asian countries to get rid of the control of the imperialists.

## SA-ING MARANG-KUL (Thailand)

The Thai delegation fully subscribes to the report made by the head of the Chinese delegation and approves of adopting the six-point proposals advanced by the Chinese delegation as a resolution of this Seminar.

I consider these proposals positive, pertinent and feasible. These proposals reflect the aspiration of the peoples of Asian countries and, accordingly, conform to their interests. It is an important problem awaiting an urgent solution for the Asian countries at the present moment to develop economic co-operation among themselves. The correct solution of this problem will help these countries get rid of the economic aggression and domination by the imperialist forces and offer the key to the accelerated development of an independent national economy.

Like many other countries in Asia, Thailand has also a serious lesson to learn in this respect.

I would like to touch briefly upon foreign trade only.

The economy of Thailand, an agrarian country, relies mainly on the export of agricultural produce, particularly of rice, rubber etc.

In recent years the U.S. imperialists, to further tighten their grip on Thai economy, have forced her to sever trade relations with the socialist countries by imposing the export embargo policy upon the reactionary Thai rulers, on the plea of "preventing communist penetration" on the one hand. On the other hand, they are seizing the markets of Thailand by dumping their agricultural produce. They even force Thailand to import such agricultural produce as tobacco which is produced in abundance in Thailand, too. As a result, her markets for agricultural produce have been dwindling day by day and the prices of her farm produce steadily dropping.

For example, the export price of rice went down by 13 per cent in 1961 as against 1951 and the price of rubber dropped by 40 per cent in 1960 compared with 1950 and again by 25 per cent in 1961 in comparison with 1960. In recent 2-3 years it has been on a steady decline.

The prices of other agricultural produce for export, e.g. potato, maize, jute, etc., are lowered, and it is also forced to decrease steadily the volume of their export.

This situation is becoming all the more serious with each passing day. Thus, even the reactionary Thai rulers are compelled to admit this. They are raising a cry at the meetings of the U.N. organs. I consider that similar situations prevail in other countries of Asia, too. As can be explained by the sphere of foreign trade alone, there exists a struggle between two lines in the present international trade relations. One is the line of subordinating the economy of one's own country to imperialist domination and losing one's own economic independence gradually by relying on imperialism and resigning oneself to the oppression and domination by imperialism. This leads into a gloomy, blind alley.

The other is to develop equal and mutually beneficial economic co-operation among nations on the basis of self-reliance and in accordance with the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. This is a bright road of great impetus leading to the development of an independent national economy.

Fellow delegates and friends,

It is high time for us to take the right path.

There is no reason for us to be hesitant on this question lingering at the crossroads.

Moreover, we should not go on following blindly the path to catastrophe.

We Asian, African and Latin American peoples are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. This is a concentrated expression of the aspiration of the peoples of various countries after economic independence and liberation of their nations.

We must actively support them, wishing them victory.

In this connection, the Thai delegation proposes to this Seminar to adopt the following resolutions: to support their struggle, particularly the struggle of the South Korean people and that of the entire Korean people for the country's unification; to support the struggle of the South Vietnamese people; to oppose U.S. imperialism which, using the U.N., is interfering in Indochina's internal affairs and carrying on an aggression against it; to support the struggle of the Laotian people and call for the convocation of 14 nations' meeting for the solution of the Laotian question.



to oppose and denounce U.S. imperialism which is bent on using Thai as its military base and interfering in the internal affairs of its neighbouring countries by instigating the reactionary Thai government; to support the struggle of the North Kalimantan people; to oppose Malaysia and give support to the Palestinian people's struggle; and to support the struggle of all the progressive forces of Africa and Latin America.

I submit these proposals to this Seminar for consideration.

## NGUYEN DAI (D.R. Vietnam)

We highly appreciate the report of Comrade Nan Han Chen, head of the Chinese delegation, which makes a complete analysis of the state, principle and possibility of development, as well as future orientation, of the economic co-operation and mutual aid among the Asian countries.

We are fully in accord with the report which maintains as follows: In developing an independent national economy, the essential path to follow is to rely on one's own forces, to rely on the people and the country's natural resources; it is equally necessary to strengthen the economic co-operation and mutual assistance among the Asian and African countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of Bandung.

We advocate reliance on our own forces in building an independent national economy, and this by no means signifies that we would build an autarchic economy excluding co-operation and aid with the fraternal countries. We cannot disregard the actual situation in the relations between different countries. On the other hand, we are building our economy in a century in which many technical revolutions are realised. That is why we can and must make use of the most advanced techniques, in order to avoid long, fruitless gropings and carry forward the building of our economy at a rapid and steady tempo.

These days, we have been all of the same opinion that we must enhance the spirit of relying on our own forces in building our economy. Only on this basis can we effectively realise and develop co-operation and mutual assistance among different countries. Only by tapping all our potentialities and all our latent forces can we utilise the aid of fraternal countries fruitfully and have the possibilities of assisting other countries.

We highly appreciate the aid our fraternal countries give us. But we cannot rely only on this aid. Practical experience shows that no matter how great foreign aid may be, it cannot constitute the sole and decisive factor which can decide success in the construction of each country. Foreign aid is surely a favourable condition, but it can by no means replace the very efforts of the people of the recipient country. If there is not an independent national economy serving as base, there can be no guarantee for aid and fair co-operation between countries.

At the present moment, the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists speak about "economic aid", "co-operation between the developed countries and the underdeveloped or developing countries . . .". Most delegates who have taken the floor at the present Seminar have clearly pointed out that co-operation and aid are nothing but a means of subjugating and making aggression against the recipient countries. It is too clear that the imperialists never wish to see our countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America become strong and powerful.

The aid of the imperialists has always strings attached to it an aid that profits a handful of dummies who are oppressing and exploiting the people, an aid that subordinates the economy of the aided country to that of the aiding country; an aid that creates for the imperialists a strong position in the recipient country for imposing the latter concession conditions.

In his speech before the Senate at the beginning of 1962, Senator T. Morton said: "If the U.S. Government makes loans, aid or make presents to foreign countries, it is an effective means, as experience has shown, for realising the end of the foreign policy of the U.S.A. towards the underdeveloped countries".

Provisions of the "Mutual Security Law" of 1951 says:

"(a) Pact on military, economic or technical aid shall be given to a country only if it agrees to execute the military engagements they have assumed under the provisions of bilateral or multi-lateral agreements to which the United States of America is a signatory.

"Economy and technical aid shall be given to a country only if the aid conduces toward strengthening the security of the United States of America".

According to Robert J. Wood, Director for Military Assistance of the Department of Defence of the United States, from 1949 to 1963 military aid given by the U.S. to the "free world" totalled 33 billion dollars including equipment and training of troops and other forms of aids. In 1953 priority No. 1 was given to supply and training of NATO forces, which absorbed 70 per cent of American aid. By 1963 American aid to NATO reached 17 million dollars, that is, over half the total.

In 1963 American aid was oriented toward the Far and Middle East. For the Far East, it was increased from 5 per cent the total to 48 per

cent in 1963; for the Middle East, it increased from 16 per cent to 24 per cent. In the same period the share of Europe fell from 79 per cent to 18 per cent.

In 1963 a million dollars, or 70 per cent of American aid was reserved for 9 countries; Greece, Turkey, Iran, India, Pakistan, Thailand, South Vietnam and South Korea. This sum was layed out in maintaining an army of 3 millions and a half men.

The proceedings of the World Commerce and Development Conference held under the auspices of the United Nations for more than 2 months in Geneva (March 23-June 15, 1964) proved clearly that one cannot expect the imperialists for a genuine aid or co-operation; even in the domain of commerce, there is not the slightest degree of conditions for equality much less can one hope that the imperialists might go as far as accepting disarmament and assign money for aiding the Asian African countries.

The Asian and African countries, as an entity, are finding themselves in the same situation, have a common enemy, that is imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, have the common aid to achieve, are fighting shoulder to shoulder in order to complete and safeguard national independence, to wipe out poverty and backwardness. We easily understand each other. Contacts and mutual assistance among our countries are necessary and have quite a particular content. They are aimed at helping ourselves fight effectively against the common enemy, which is imperialism and old and new colonialism, and attain the goal of each country, build an independent national economy, and consolidate our political independence. In the economic field, co-operation and mutual assistance among our Asian and African countries must be aimed at increasing production, accelerating the tempo of economic, technical and cultural progress, raising labour productivity, constantly improving the living standard of the people in each country. Co-operation and mutual assistance among our countries can develop only when they are based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, respect for independence and sovereignty, and when they are in conformity with the situation, the needs and possibility of each country.

We are opposed to any kind of aid that runs counter to the afore-said principles. We are particularly opposed to that kind of aid and co-operation that are aimed at enabling the aiding countries to interfere in the internal affairs of the recipient countries, control and subjugate them.

We can no more be in accord with that kind of aid and co-operation that do not sufficiently take into consideration the specific conditions and necessity of each country, and that under the pretext of "division of labor" in international co-operation deny the principle of self-reliance in the building of an independent economy and autonomy of each country and force other countries to follow the directives of the aiding country, all these kinds of aids and co-operation are detrimental to independence and sovereignty of the recipient countries.

Most Asian and African countries have been liberated from the yoke of the imperialists and begun to build their economy. Each of our countries have its particular difficulties, but this by no means signify that there lack possibilities of developing step by step, in accordance with the possibilities of each country, our cooperation and mutual assistance among our countries, such as economic co-operation, co-operation in the field of technique and science, exchanges of experiences, commercial exchanges. In this connection Comrade Leader of the Chinese Delegation is very concrete and precise.

We consider for example that we are not short of experiences in exchanging among our countries, above all in the economic domain. As to the experiences in agricultural affairs, the Asian and African countries are certainly the most endowed. If we exchange all the experiences we each have in the domain of economic construction, it is certain that we can help ourselves effectively in making the economy of our countries progress, thus we can contribute our share to the common progress of each of our countries.

On the other hand we are all animated with the same ardent and sincere desire to assist mutually. That is the very essential point. Our struggle for national-liberation and our economic construction gains greater and greater successes. Our possibilities of cooperation and mutual assistance in all the domains grow constantly. We are of the opinion that we must co-operate and assist each other in all the domains; on this point the report of the leader of the Chinese delegation has made a very detailed study. Our co-operation and mutual assistance must not be concentrated essentially nor exclusively on the economic domain. We are in accord with the first item of the program of co-operation and mutual assistance set forth by the report. We must by way of consultations coordinate our actions and take common positive and effective measures for safeguarding our national sovereignty and economic independence

It is evident that of the foremost importance are co-operation and mutual assistance in the political field with a view to fighting against every aggressive machination and activity of the imperialists. By combined actions and mutual assistance among the Asian and African people, can we frustrate the machinations of the imperialists.

Fighting on the common front against imperialism, we must pool our efforts and strengthen mutual assistance in order to crush the enemy in any part of Asia and Africa which are victims of aggression, to crush the attempt of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism to subjugate.

We think any concrete aid is good. But the best aid that plays a decisive role is one that can give tangible results in the consolidation of the recipient country in her struggle against imperialism, in her building of an independent national economy on the basis of her own forces.

We think that all the Asian and African countries can co-operate among each other and exchange experiences in the technical and professional fields and in the orientation of the national economy.

We can employ several forms, i.e., organisation of seminars, exchange of documents, study missions and trainees. Each country of Asia and Africa have accumulated sufficient experiences in the revolutionary struggle, production and construction. In strengthening our cooperation and making the best of all these experiences, we can assist each other effectively in making our countries rapidly develop.

The co-operation among the Asian and African peoples is only in its initial stage. Any first step is difficult. The imperialists and their lackeys are out for taking advantage of our imperfections to slander our countries and to hinder the development of our co-operation and mutual assistance. We will remain vigilant and will frustrate their shameless machinations. With our will to co-operate sincerely and assist each other effectively, we can surmount the first difficulties and carry forward our co-operation on the right track.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam attaches a great importance to the co-operation and mutual assistance among the fraternal countries of Asia and Africa in all the domains. Although we have material possibilities in this connection, we have always striven and will strive in the future for bringing the greatest contribution possible to the development of co-operation among the Asian and African countries in the spirit of active solidarity of comrades-in-arms, the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence and the Ten Principles of Bandung.

## SINGAMA LUVILA (Congo (L))

I would like to make some comments on the report concerning the subject of the economic co-operation between the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa, presented by our comrade Nan Han Chen, head of the Chinese delegation.

I want to comment particularly on two of the eight principles proclaimed in the page 7 of the report.

### I

(A) 2nd principle: "The Chinese government strictly respects the sovereignty and independence of the recipient countries in giving aid to them without attaching any condition or claiming any privilege".

This aid is radically different from the so-called aid of imperialism headed by the United States. The frequent debates in the U.S. senate famous for the grandiloquences of Goldwater show that the aid of the Yankee imperialists or others is a pretext of economic robbery. The war of Suez, the dramas of Vietnam and Korea, Morocco, Tunisia, etc., are the concrete cases which disclose the true nature of this imperialist aid.

The group of Adoula, Kasavubu and Mobutu, the puppets now in power in our country, carried their perfidy as far as approving the U.S. imperialist aggression of Cuba.

The African countries, especially those countries which have won genuine independence, had better take into consideration the experience of Mali, one of our seniors who have verified in practice the effects of foreign aid, in their hopes as well as in their disappointment.

(B) 4th principle: "The Chinese government gives assistance to foreign countries for the purpose of helping them enter step by step upon the road of independent economic development by relying on their own forces and not of making them dependent on China". It is encouraging, for those who are determined to build their countries, to hear that the function of aid lies in facilitating development. For the "aid" of imperialism, Yankee or other, is harmful and hampers the development.

The living standards in India, for example, which went down 15 times in 1935, became 35 times lower in 1952. Thus, the introduction of the capital of imperialists, especially the capital of the U.S. imperialists, brought about nothing but further aggravation of the low living standards of the Indian people.

In the countries which have recently become formally independent, the imperialist "aid" takes at first the form of a subsidy for the balance of the budget, which affects the economic and monetary health of the recipient countries. Its influence is felt in the preparation of development plans. In Ivory Coast, for example, more than half of the development plan depends on foreign aid.

In the domain of agriculture, the bourgeois ideologues spread false views which are seemingly logical, alledgedly for the solution of the problems of an ill-fated Black Africa. They pave the way for the disposal of the surplus agricultural produce of America, by diverting the attention of the masses with regard to the essential problem concerning the development of agricultural production—the problem of the juridical statute of colonial exploitation by the Europeans who are already producing farm produce for exportation.

All the world, and the United States together with us, know that the food shortage in our country is due especially to colonial domination. True, the United States supplies their surplus farm products gratis to the countries which are yet to solve the food problem. But the United States itself combats all governments which are determined to successfully eliminate the causes of under-development through the agrarian reform or nationalization; the cases of Arbenz of Guatemala, Mossadegh of Iran and Lumumba of the Congo are convincing proof of this. U.S. imperialism, contradicting its demagogical proclamations, defended by force of iron and fire the interests of the "United States", "Iran Petroleum Company" and the "Union Miniere du Haut Katanga". This U.S. imperialism, oppressing the Congolese people, inundates our country with adulterated products, especially with refrigerated chickens since the Indo-Chinese war, which are not only unfit for consumption but also aggravate the deficiency diseases.

## II

As our comrades from the People's China defined it, fraternal aid and co-operation open up fine perspectives for the national-liberation movements.



In the page 7 of his report, our Chinese comrade stipulates as this: "The countries granting this assistance should absolutely not be motivated by national egoism, nor should use this assistance as a means of intervening in the domestic affairs of the recipient countries and of controlling them".

That is why it is necessary that the concrete struggle in the liberation movements which is an integral part of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle, should be supported in a concrete way apart from all the diplomatic or governmental contingencies. This is the policy and demand of solidarity of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples who must be the inspirers of aid to the national-liberation movements. The slogan of complete liberation of our continents, Asia, Latin America, and Africa, should be supported.

### III

Imperialism led by the United States mobilizes everything from their ideological arsenal to impose their humiliating conceptions of aid and co-operation. The bourgeois ideologues resort even to the highest moral authority in order to give an ideological support to the imperialist aid.

The Pope, for example, in the Encycliques, *Rerum Novarum* or *Mater and Magistra*, makes himself objectively as defender of capitalism in his efforts to survive.

In order to defend the private property of the capitalists, the Pope solemnly affirms that "One must not covet the wealth of another, nor his lands, nor his ass, nor his wife". The Pope also says that "Nobody is obliged to relieve another by sacrificing his own needs. Give to another as alms what has remained after satisfying all your needs" or "The private property, even the goods of production, is marked by the divine seal". With such precepts, one will not surprise to read, in a report of the French government concerning the aid to the under-developed countries, the passage that the aspirations for progress are not universal, because certain people, by nature or by fatalism, disdain the abundance of material wealth. It follows from this that the imperialist "aid" is dictated by the considerations of charity. This conception must be refuted resolutely.

Before, at Berlin in 1885, the imperialist powers divided Africa among themselves in order better to pillage our natural riches. Today, what imperialism calls "disinterested aid" should become an obligatory thing, a compensation.

In the face of the hypocrisy of imperialism our slogan should be: "Redeem, redeem and redeem!"

#### IV

Lastly, one must welcome the declaration formulated solemnly by Premier Chou En-lai.

That is a true morality, the morality of a new society, a morality of proletarian solidarity. That is a fraternal morality, the most clear-cut, the only valid morality for the future.

We are encouraged by the fact that the People's Republic of China is among the guardians of that morality.

"There is no supreme saviour, nor Caesar, nor tribune". Peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa, let us save us by ourselves.

### **WADADA MUSANI (Uganda)**

I wish to add my voice to those of the comrades who have supported and endorsed the report made by the Head of the Chinese delegation.

The report took into full account the common problems of the Afro-Asian people based on similar history and experiences. The imperialist enemies of our countries were amply exposed and ways of dealing with them suggested. Which I am certain are correct ways and if pursued by the progressive forces of the world will earn us victory and rid us of our enemies.

His analysis of our wavering comrades is a correct and a lesson to us that in facing our enemies we should only have the fighting spirit, for it is the only one that will make the imperialists respect us.

While imperialists aim at investing in a country and having secret understandings with local monopolistic capital, the Chinese government believes in giving assistance to the government and this assistance will be available to the whole people of the nation and thus help to develop the countries economy in the shortest possible time.

The 8 points are not only of great benefit to the Afro-Asian peoples in their co-operation with the Chinese comrades, but it would be good for the leaders of Afro-Asian countries to keep them in mind when discussing any matters of aid with the imperialist aid. If the imperialists cannot accept such conditions from an Afro-Asian country, then their aid is not worth taking. These eight points not only ensure the rapid development of any country, but contain nothing that endangers the sovereignty of a country and they are based on co-operation, respect for one another, and will stimulate the spirit of self-reliance, for the assistance is a means to greater efforts.

## **SUMMING-UP OF THE DISCUSSION ON ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION**

**by Mr. NAN HAN CHEN (China)**

I wish to express my appreciation to all the delegates and friends who have made valuable, on the question of economic co-operation, contributions which have improved and supplemented my report and given us great enlightenment and inspiration.

Through our discussion, we have found ourselves in agreement on the following points:

1. It is essential to enhance economic co-operation among various countries on the basis of self-reliance. The enhancing of such economic co-operation is beneficial to the speedy development of the national economy and to the strengthening of the great solidarity of the peoples against imperialism. We should closely integrate the task of enhancing economic co-operation among various countries and the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism.

2. Economic co-operation among various countries should be in accord with the principle of equality and mutual benefit and truly beneficial to the development of independent national economy, and should not be attached with any privilege or conditions, and should not serve as means to control, intervene in and encroach upon the sovereignty of other countries.

3. There exist many favourable conditions for developing economic co-operation among various countries. At present, our economic co-operation is still limited, since most of the countries only attained their independence not long ago, and their economy is not yet highly developed. With the development of their national economy and the intensification of their work in all fields, however, their economic co-operation will grow gradually.

4. We thank those many delegates and friends who have expressed their support to the six proposals advanced by the Chinese delegation on the enhancing of economic co-operation. We also wish to express

our agreement to those many valuable supplementary remarks made by the Korean delegate, the Indonesian delegate and many other delegates and friends. We hope that these proposals will be implemented gradually so as to promote the further development of economic co-operation among various countries.

5. Our African friends have suggested that the principles and method of economic co-operation advanced by our Seminar should be applicable not only to Asian countries, but doubtlessly also to African and Latin American countries. We are in full agreement with our African friends and we are grateful to them.

We agree to the reports and speeches made by many delegates and friends on neo-colonialism and Asian and African economics.

We people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are always closely united and support each other. The struggle of the people of every country against imperialism headed by the U.S. is the greatest support and assistance to the Chinese people.

We give firm support to the Asian peoples who are struggling against imperialism headed by the U.S.; to the peoples of the southern part of Korea and the southern part of Vietnam who are struggling against imperialist aggression and for national-liberation and unification of fatherland; to the Laotian people who are struggling against the U.S. imperialist intervention and for persisting in peace, neutrality; to the Cambodian people who are struggling for the maintenance of independence and the safeguarding of sovereignty and territorial integrity; to the people of North Kalimantan who are struggling for national-liberation and independence; to the Indonesian people who are struggling against the neo-colonialist scheme of 'Malaysia'; and to the Japanese people who are engaged in a patriotic struggle.

We firmly support the struggle of the Arab countries and peoples on the question of Palestine, and we firmly support the Palestinian people's struggle for the restoration of their legitimate rights and their return to their fatherland.

We firmly support the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism headed by the U.S. We firmly support the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Gambia, Nyasaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, South West Africa and French Somaliland who are struggling for national independence.

We firmly support the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) who are struggling against the aggression by Neo-colonialism, headed by the U.S. We also firmly support the people of South Africa who are struggling for national liberation and against racial discrimination.

We firmly support the Cuban people's struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for defending their socialist fatherland. We firmly support the peoples of Latin America who are struggling against U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention and control and for national independence and liberation.

We wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to many delegates and friends for their support to the Chinese people in the struggle to liberate our own sacred territory Taiwan, and our sincere appreciations to the Seminar for the resolution it has adopted in protest of the unwarranted arrest of Chinese trade personnel and journalists by the Brazilian authorities.

Long live the great solidarity of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism.

## **PART VI**

# **TRADE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

**SHUJIRO TANAKA (Japan)**

At the beginning of my report, allow me to express what I have felt since the beginning of this Seminar. Firstly, I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to The Asian Economic Bureau which took an initiative for convening the 2nd Asian Economic Seminar, and has consistently pursued a positive and constructive attitude, during the course of nearly two years since its establishment in October 1962.

Secondly, I have witnessed all the participants have been deeply moved by the excellent preparation which the Korean friends made and by the kind consideration which they have given all through the time. All of us cannot help expressing thanks to Mr. Nam Choon Hwa and all the Korean friends who have devoted themselves to all works necessary for the success of this meeting.

All the experiences that we have got through our eyes and ears in Pyongyang are arousing a deep sense of respect to the brilliant achievement scored by the Korean people under the leadership of Premier Kim Il Sung. We wish them further success in the constitution of the country and in the unification of their fatherland.

Thirdly, I fully appreciate an important role played by the friends who came here from Africa. Particularly on the problem of Neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism, a new form of colonial domination by the imperialists, is a most ferocious expression of imperialism today. Neo-colonialism offer a common problem to all the Afro-Asian peoples. The problem of Neo-colonialism urges the Afro-Asian people to a common struggle. The struggle against Neo-colonialism inevitably include the struggle for economic liberation—the liberation of the whole Afro-Asian peoples from the yoke of economic domination by the imperialists.

As all the participants unanimously admitted, the struggle against neo-colonialism cannot win the final victory without the establishment of

independent national economy upon the principle of self-reliance. The struggle against neo-colonialism should expose publicly the true nature and role of the so-called aid and economic co-operation advocated and expected by the imperialists and their co-operators. The struggle against neo-colonialism cannot be forged ahead without smashing down and wiping off such a demagoguery that the money saved by total disarmament will bring about happiness to the under-developed countries.

At the discussion of neo-colonialism many delegates pointed out that U.S. imperialism is a main promoter of neo-colonialism. I entirely endorse this point. At the same time, I would like to attach an important significance to the problem that now the Japanese reactionaries and monopolies are emerging as a new neo-colonialist tendency not only to Asia but also to Africa.

Once more I should like to express my thanks to the African friends who have really contributed to deepen the discussion on the problem of neo-colonialism. With the participation of our guests from Africa, the Seminar has increased in significance.

I have to stress that the subject which is allotted to the Japanese delegation cannot be irrelevant to all other subjects, especially the struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Poverty now prevailing among Asian and African nations, lopsided pattern of their trade, especially the lack of trade between Afro-Asian countries, these are the results of the exploitation by the colonialists. They are by no means the only results of the affairs belonging to the past historic stages. Even now the colonialists are strengthening their efforts not only to maintain their rule over the Afro-Asian countries but to reinforce their positions in these countries. Of course we live in the age of collapsing colonial system, the colonialists have already lost a lot. However, the true nature of the colonialism remains unchanged. Political and economic penetrations by the colonialist's forces into the Afro-Asian countries are still continuing. This is the undeniable facts.

Neo-colonialists, especially the U.S. imperialists come in where the old colonialists goes out. It is needless to say that U.S. imperialism is the champion of neo-colonialism. Everywhere in the world U.S. imperialism is increasing its efforts politically and economically. To hinder the emerging nations from constructing their independent states the establishing of a puppet government is one form of neo-colonialists' political rule. At the



same time we cannot overlook the fact that some Afro-Asian governments are under the political influence of the imperialists because of their so-called economic "aid".

In this respect the so-called "aid" cannot be taken up separately from the political aim of the imperialists. There is no economic development without political independence. This is true. But, even with political independence, if there is no effort to build an independent, self-reliant economy, we can find no bright future for genuine independence. The imperialists overlook no chance to exploit the economic difficulties of newly independent countries resulted from their long colonized history such as the shortage of foreign exchange. In the recent years these difficulties have been aggravated. This fact could not but be reflected on the platform of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Wherever the Afro-Asian countries face these difficulties, the colonialists always come out with their so-called "aid", state and private capitals, surplus goods etc. Therefore to overcome the difficulties by our own efforts is the sole foundation for the genuine independence of these countries.

Giving various "aid", the combination of state and private capital exports, utilization of international financial organizations, collective suppression of national liberation movement, collective exploitations by monopolies of different nationalities, establishing and utilizing by the colonialists of international organizations, these are called the forms and expressions of neo-colonialism. Naturally we must be vigilant for all those forms and expressions of neo-colonialism, moreover we should stress that colonialism itself is now alive and even strengthening its effort to make many nations suffer and that the trade between Afro-Asian and Latin American countries can never flourish unless their influences are wiped away. Our efforts of enlarging our trade relationships must be closely united with these struggles.

### **Solidarity in Political and Economic Phases**

The Bandung Conference in 1955 has brought about a historical turning point in the emancipation and solidarity of Afro-Asian nations. In the coming March, 1965, the Second Afro-Asian Conference is expected to be held after a ten years interval. Solidarity among Afro-Asian nations struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for total and complete independence will be strengthened further more. Afro-Asian solidarity in political field has exerted a favourable influence

upon the economies of Afro-Asian countries. Comparing with solidarity politically, however, solidarity in economic field seems to be rather weak. This is because of the historical reason that the Afro-Asian countries have been the markets of raw material and manufactured goods for the imperialist countries for many years. Then it will inevitably need time and effort to create such economic conditions as to serve for the development of trade and economic exchange between Afro-Asian countries. However, we know the initial step for the development. That is the establishment and construction of national economy upon the principle of self-reliance. As the next step the promotion of economic exchange and mutual help upon co-beneficial basis will come in. Standing upon the recognition of this common course it is necessary for the countries to take concrete measures in light of the change and development of actual situation through the enlargement of common economic interests. Along this course the solidarity in the economic field will be strengthened and well-grounded, and we can achieve actual results one after another. The more we obtain fruits in the construction of national economy and reciprocal economic relations, the more we can strengthen political solidarity of Afro-Asian countries, and it will contribute to the world peace and social progress.

### **Fundamental elements to develop the Trade between Asian and African Countries**

The trade between Afro-Asian countries in particular and the trade between newly-emerging countries in general commenced quite recently and the scales are still not large. According to the calculation of Dr. Prebish, the ratio of trade among "under-developed countries" against total volume of their trade is even decreasing from 26% in 1950 to 22% in 1962. Commodities of developing countries are in the traditional trade form. Almost all of their products flow into industrial region and trades with neighbouring countries is carried on within the limit of necessity arising from the difference of primary products in each country. Moreover smallness of trade amount is one of the elements of high cost of freightage; and so, mutual trades do not develop because of this high cost of freight. The freight from a certain developing country to the other developing country is often higher than the freight to an industrial country located much farther. Much greater difficulties exist in the trade with newly-emerging countries located at a distance. Consequently, drastic change of economic situation in Afro-Asian countries is the pre-requisite to the full-scaled development of trade among Afro-Asian countries.

In parallel with the establishment of national economy sweeping away colonial economic structure and having independent industries and agriculture, multilateral possibility should be introduced in the variety of commodities as well as in selection of trade partners, then it will lead to development of trade advantageous for national economy. There is an inevitable limit in the improvement of trade leaving colonial economic structure as it is, and no bright future. At the establishment of independent national economy by sweeping away colonial economic structure, we unavoidably face with the resistance by colonialism and neo-colonialism which try to defend their own vested interests. For this purpose we should exclude ruling of foreign monopolies and completely regain the rights for development and utilization of resource, and at the same time we can not avoid agricultural reform or other reformations. In fact, we can note the examples for the developments of independent economy and improvements of trade carried out in such ways as above. The Ceylon Government has set up government-owned oil and insurance companies 'against oil or insurance company of U.S. and U.K., which had made enormous profits in Ceylon and gave them exclusive rights to take over the facilities of the U.S. and U.K. firms. And in the field of export-import trade, she promotes nationalization. Indonesia has gone the process of requisition of Dutch and British enterprises twice so far as today. Those enterprises were taken over in the course of the West Irian Liberation War and also the struggle against the formation of Malaysia, and the requisitions indicate that the struggle against colonialism is closely related to the consolidation of national sovereignty in economies.

As we mentioned, to develop the trade relation between Asian and African countries, all the nations of both regions should, in the first place, achieve independent and modern national economies, and should enhance the abilities of variety and multiplicity in trading. Secondly, in connection with the above mentioned, we must utilize resources including mining and agricultural products, now being monopolized by colonialists, or being regarded as the subject of economic aggression of neo-colonialists, for our own economies as well as for mutual trading in Afro-Asian countries. The third, we should avoid the monopolization of trade in certain countries of both regions where foreign trade is still in the hand of the colonialists; we must recover the leadership into our own hands.

### **Bright future for trade between Asian and African Countries**

The development of trade between the countries of Asia and Africa has long been hindered and retarded under the rule by the colonialists.

This is not only due to their direct hindrance but to their indirect ones, which have been reflected in the fact that the peoples have been almost ignorant of other Afro-Asian countries and also in the difficulties of visiting each other. However, the situation is changing since not long ago, along with the ever-developing liberation in Africa. The participation of a number of African delegates at this kind of meeting in Korea must have been incredible in the past, because, as the Western colonialists stayed in Africa so the Japanese colonialists in Korea. Furthermore I would like to stress many African delegates now sitting with us in this hall are freedom fighters who are determined to liberate their own countries and making efforts to strengthen the solidarity with the Asian people. Along with the development of relations between Asia and Africa the trade relationships within the area of Asia and Africa are bound to develop. It is imperialism which is resisting this trend. For instance, it is mainly U.S. imperialism which has been continuously disturbing the expansion of trade between Japan on the one side and the Asian Socialist countries on the other side. It might be even incredible to some African delegates that Japan has not established yet its diplomatic relation with these socialist countries. However, this kind of obstacles will be removed one after another through the course of the Afro-Asian people's struggle. Especially we cannot overlook the efforts exerted by newly independent countries in order to weaken or cut colonial ties in trade with their former metropolitan countries, thus to expand their own independent trade. It should be pointed out that the success of the national economy in the socialist countries based on the principle of self-reliance have been exerting deep influences not only to Asian but also to African countries. These socialist countries, moreover, are playing important roles for the development of trade relationship among Afro-Asian countries upon co-beneficial principle.

We would like to recommend to the freedom fighters that they urge their governments to establish trade Missions and invite Trade teams to each other's countries as a first step at least in the absence of diplomatic relations.

This will help economic co-operation.

We are for the further development of the trade between Asia and Africa. But, at the same time we are against the development of trade beneficial to the colonialists and imperialists, of trade with South Africa, notorious in its policy of racial discrimination. We have to support the economic sanction against this country.

## **Co-operation as regards Marine, Air and Communication Services**

In the First Asian Economic Seminar held in Colombo in 1962, it was decided among the participants to study as a measure of mutual co-operation the ways and means to improve marine, air, communication services of every nations in connection with the requirements of furthering trade among countries. The majority of Afro-Asian countries have not transport vessels and are dependent on foreign vessels for carriage of goods by sea. This is not a desirous thing in two ways; one is increase of external payments for freight, and the other is inconvenience arising from the absolute shortage of their own vessels.

All the Afro-Asian countries hold keen interest for the establishment of international air route which gave birth to new air route successively. For instance, the route connecting Pakistan and China was opened in April this year. This route was originally designed for connecting Karachi of Pakistan, Shanghai of China and Tokyo of Japan, but remains incomplete since the Japanese Government did not agree with this problem. Relation between Japan and China gives obstruction against international co-operation in Asian countries. In order to promote economic co-operation we have to do our best to ameliorate diplomatic relationships among nations.

### **On the future activities of the Bureau**

In concluding this report, I would like to put forward some proposals. Firstly, it would be very useful if we can exchange experiences from the view point that the expansion and diversification of trade basically depends upon the construction of independent national economy. Generally speaking, the socialist countries give us lots of valuable examples how they overcame colonized and backward economy. Particularly the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is successfully constructing its purely independent economy at an amazing speed in the face of comparatively not large number of population. In this country we are now holding the economic seminar. We will be able to enjoy a good opportunity to study numerous concrete examples and draw valuable lessons. We hope that, after this seminar session, the function of our bureau will be strengthened so that our experiences can be exchanged widely and continuously. Secondly, a big obstacle before us for the enlargement of relationships between the countries of Asia and African is the lack of knowledge about each other. Needless to say, this is resulted from the long colonialist rule. We are convinced that, if this kind of knowledge is

sufficient even at present we can find out more effective means and ways to promote new trade relationships and to enlarge the amount of trade. In this direction the exchanges of the lists of goods expected to be merchandised and of the informations relating to trade and trade organizations or, in some case, joint study by specialists will be very useful for our common end. To fulfil these tasks, the bureau is expected to be an active permanent centre of our movements.

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

As mentioned so far, in connection with the subject, Trade relationship, I raised four points so as to promote your discussion. But I have to tell you there is a very basic problem common to these four points. That is the lack of independence for most of Afro-Asian countries in the field of foreign trade. And it goes without saying that this problem constitutes an integral part of the struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism. During the course of discussion of the subject, we must always start from this point and go back to this point.

## KIM GWANG JIN (Korea)

I think it very useful to discuss the trade problem, a matter of our common concern, today when the building of an independent national economy poses itself as an important question in Afro-Asian countries.

The report made by the Japanese delegate gave a cogent analysis of the problem of taking measures to improve trade among countries of Asia and Africa. I approve and subscribe to the report by the Japanese delegate.

From time immemorial the Afro-Asian countries have been developing economy and culture, filling each other's needs among the neighbouring states. Imperialist aggression, however, has very much weakened economic relations among the countries of these regions.

Even after many of the countries of these regions have won political independence through the staunch anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggles of their peoples, the old and new colonialists led by U.S. imperialism have been working hard to maintain the old-relations of economic dependency. Making use of "aid", various acts and agreements, international agencies and international banking organisations, etc., they are intensifying their economic infiltration into the countries of these regions and, by trumping up exclusive blocs, are hatching plots to destroy trade relations among these countries, along with political and military aggression.

Recently, the U.S. ruling quarters, with a view to strengthening their dominant position in the capitalist world markets and further expanding export of U.S. goods, have adopted the "Trade Expansion Act" and are trying to frame up the "Atlantic Community". Under the slogan of the so-called "liberalization of trade" U.S. imperialism is further stepping up the drive for the seizure of the markets in Asia and Africa.

It is clear to everyone that the aggressive trade policy pursued by the U.S.-led imperialist powers is aimed at hampering in every way the independent national economic construction in the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa and maintaining the old distribution of productive forces of the capitalist world, thereby keeping these countries as a food and raw material appendage as before.

The old distribution of productive forces of the capitalist world which was originally regimented to suit the purposes of the imperialists has so far undergone little change.

In the total output of the capitalist world's processing industry, the share of the so-called under-developed countries decreased from 12 per cent to 11 per cent between 1938-1960, while their share in the production of minerals increased from 25 per cent to 35 per cent between 1953 and 1960. As for the cotton textile industry, which is said to have made good progress in recent years, the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa own no more than one-seventh of the spindles and one-tenth of weaving capacity, while turning out roughly two-thirds of the total cotton output of the capitalist world.

Because of such imbalance in the distribution of productive forces in the capitalist world, the Afro-Asian countries cannot but fill up 80-85 per cent of their exports with foodstuffs, agricultural raw materials, minerals and raw materials, and deliver about 70 per cent of the total exports to the imperialist countries.

Owing to the simple composition of export goods and the overwhelming proportion of the export of foodstuffs and war materials, the people and small and medium capitalists of these countries are most severely hit by the over-production crisis. They are robbed of more than ten billion dollars every year by the imperialists through the drop in the prices of export goods, deterioration of trade conditions, decrease of export and the rise in the prices of import goods.

Despite the fact that the irrational distribution of production forces in the capitalist world is causing enormous damages to the Afro-Asian countries in trade, the apologists of imperialism claim that these countries can get over the nation's poverty and misfortunes only through the specialization of production of a few export items. This is a mockery and deception of the peoples of the newborn independent countries.

It is only too natural that today the Afro-Asian peoples are exposing and shattering the schemes of the imperialist aggressors to keep their countries as the "farms and mines of the world" and striving to establish and develop their national economies.

Building an independent national economy in each country is an indispensable condition for eradicating dependency and establishing independence in trade. In order to build an independent national economy,



it is necessary to mobilize mainly one's own internal reserves on the principle of self-reliance, while making foreign trade serve it in an effective way.

Certain necessary machines and equipment have to be imported in order to supplement domestic production in the course of laying the foundations for an independent national economy.

In order to successfully ensure the import of such goods, it is beyond dispute that the present export structure should be improved gradually over a certain period and new sources of export should be actively explored and tapped to earn more foreign exchange.

At present Afro-Asian countries are obtaining the overwhelming portion of their foreign exchange through export.

Between 1951 and 1959, the average foreign exchange income from export accounted for 90·5 per cent of the total foreign exchange income in the countries of South-East Asia, 82·5 per cent in the Near and Middle East, and 86 per cent in Africa.

It is, therefore, of great significance in accelerating the independent national economic construction for the newborn independent countries to expand export and obtain more foreign currency so as to import machines and equipment in time. However, as long as the newborn countries in Asia and Africa are bound by such trade relations as shackling them to the imperialist countries, they can neither expand export systematically nor ensure the import of necessary machines and equipment satisfactorily.

This is because crisis and recessions which have recurred at short intervals since world war II have continually reduced the volume of export of these countries, and the imperialists, taking advantage of the characteristics of such fluctuations, are shamelessly engaged in cornering and dumping agricultural produce and strategic raw materials on a world scale.

How rapacious the cornering and dumping of the U.S. imperialists are can be seen in the following words of K. Randall, former Chairman of the U.S. Senate Sub-Committee for Foreign Economic Policy, who frankly admitted: By our sudden suspension of the purchase from abroad in time of recession, we cause unemployment and poverty to those areas which rely on the sale of any single commodity. Then, when the prices begin to drop under the impact of our pressure, we purchase all we can.

The U.S. imperialists, after buying up particular goods in this way, conduct heavy dumping so as to put political pressure on those countries whose economic life is entirely dependent on the export of those goods.

Thus many countries of Asia and Africa suffer huge losses in the export of food, agricultural raw materials and minerals by selling them at prices lower than the production cost. This is due to the very policy of cornering and dumping of the U.S. monopolies.

The imperialists are also pursuing a tariff policy stifling the national industries of the under-developed countries.

Their customs duty, as a rule, rises in direct proportion to the degree of processing of import goods from the under-developed countries. The member states of the "European Common Market" impose a no more than 9 per cent ad valorem duty on imported unprocessed cacao beans, whereas 28 per cent is fixed on processed beans; they exempt duties for oil-bearing seeds but charge 10 per cent on the primary-processed ones and 15 per cent on vegetable oils. It is obvious that the aim of such tariff policy is to prevent the newborn independent countries from creating even the primary-processing industry of their own for agricultural exports.

Apologists for imperialism are propagandizing as if the government circles of the imperialist countries were ready to solve the question of expanding their import from the new-emerging countries by following the policy of lowering customs duties or of stimulating the needs of their countries for the so-called primary goods such as farm produce and minerals. This is a deception. History never knows such a precedent that imperialists, in disregard of their interests, bought at fair prices the goods of Afro-Asian countries which suffer from marketing difficulties. Nor does it know such an instance that they supplied these countries with machines and equipment at cheap prices to enable the latter to develop their national industries. There does not, and cannot, exist such a "benevolent" imperialism in the world.

Eloquent proof of this is provided by the totally bankrupt trade of South Korea for whose development the Yankee imperialists claim that they are offering "aid" with a special concern.

In South Korea, the problem as to what to import and export and whom to trade with is decided entirely by the U.S. through its "Buy-American" policy. And without advance consent of the American rulers South Korea can neither regulate a single per cent of its tariff rate nor

can it disburse one cent of foreign exchange. The U.S. administration unilaterally fixes the South Korean won-U.S. dollar exchange rate, thereby artificially causing the dearth of foreign currency in South Korea.

As a result, South Korea's trade has undergone heavy fluctuations, suffering from recurring recession and stagnation. The total volume of trade in 1962 remained at the same level as that in 1957, namely, five years ago. In the structure of trade the colonial character has been further accentuated, entailing an appalling trade imbalance each year.

In the period from August 15, 1945 to 1963 the excess of South Korean import over export amounted to more than 4·2 billion dollars. And to make up for part of this unfavourable balance the South Korean puppet clique deliver each year over two tons of gold to the foreign monopolies and are going so far as to sell out Korean properties—the fruits of the sweat and blood of the Korean people—as well as resources and even public parks to foreigners.

South Korean trade is further declining owing to the U.S. policy of steadily jerking up the exchange rate in favour of the dollar.

Between 1950 and May 1964 the U.S. government raised exchange rates of the South Korean won in varied degrees on no less than twenty-two occasions. The price of won to U.S. dollar has decreased to one-142nd at present as compared with that in October 1950.

Today South Korea is suffering from a chronic inflation and high prices of commodities unprecedented in all countries. Economy and trade are going totally bankrupt and the people are floundering in indescribable destitution.

To overcome such handicaps in trade, which are common to all the newly-independent Afro-Asian countries, we deem it necessary for them to persist in the principles of equality and mutual benefit in their trade with the developed capitalist countries and, at the same time, actively to promote trade among the Afro-Asian countries.

Favourable economic conditions are maturing for the expansion and promotion of trade among these countries.

In the socialist countries in Asia, socialist industrialization is being pushed ahead successfully, while the people's living is also rapidly improving. Along with this, the vestiges of the past in the structure of trade have been completely liquidated. These countries have the possibility

of importing a greater amount of goods from the newborn independent countries at fair prices and of supplying necessary machines, equipment and other goods to them on favourable terms.

In all the national states of Asia and Africa, industries are being born or developing in conformity with the levels of development of their economies and, accordingly, their home markets are expanding gradually. The per-capita output of processing industry in the Afro-Asian countries grew more than 1·8 times between 1938 and 1958, while the industrial production of the newly-independent countries in Asia rose over 1·5 times in the period of 1958-1963. The development of national industry and the expansion of domestic markets provide conditions for extending trade between the newborn independent countries.

All in all, trade among Afro-Asian countries grew to 165 per cent in 1958 and to 174 per cent in 1960, taking the 1955 level as 100. This notwithstanding, the volume of trade conducted between these countries comprises as yet only 26 per cent of the total trade turnover of these countries. This shows that the possibility for further expanding trade between these countries has not yet been turned to full account.

This is attributable to U.S. imperialism—the bastion of world reaction and the biggest international exploiter.

By setting up the so-called COCOM (Co-ordinating Committee for Export Control) U.S. imperialism is restricting or banning in one way or another export to the socialist countries in Asia by the newborn countries and obstructing the issuance of permits for import from and export to the socialist countries in Asia by exerting pressure on or menacing the governments of these countries with the threats of suspension of “aid” or withdrawal of credits and the like.

Moreover, U.S. imperialism is preventing the national states of Asia and Africa from meeting each other's needs and establishing and developing mutually beneficial relations of economic co-operation between them.

Having cooked up the so-called “Malaysian Federation”, the Anglo-American imperialists have barred trade between this area and Indonesia and by framing up the so-called Association of South-East Asia, they are seeking to drive a wedge in the traditional trade relations between the contracting countries and their neighbours. The colonialists, old and new, are also plotting to tear apart the national markets in the African

Continent and block trade among them by enmeshing the African countries into their "commonwealth" or "community".

It is our opinion, therefore, that the socialist countries of Asia and the national states should, with a view to expanding trade relations among them, direct the spearhead of struggle against U.S. imperialism and internal reaction who are in league with the former and actively strive to solve this question with their own initiative.

The political independence of the Afro-Asian countries is a most precious historical gain won by the peoples of these countries. Political conditions are now created for the governments of many national states, with the exception of some territories where state power is held by U.S. puppets, to pursue an independent trade policy. They have come to possess the possibility of following an independent line, rejecting interference by the imperialist powers, as regards the tariff policy, export and import control, foreign exchange policy and the selection of trade partners. The activities of state trading organs set up in some national states provide their governments with favourable conditions for directly improving the composition of export and import goods in accord with the line for the reorganisation of production structure in those countries.

The peoples of Asia and Africa have for centuries consolidated solidarity among them in the course of the struggle against the aggressors and colonialists. This firm solidarity is a major factor making for the strengthening of mutual co-operation and assistance among the countries of these regions.

The aspirations for unity and co-operation among the Afro-Asian countries which have attained political independence were translated into reality at the Bandung Conference.

We consider that it is necessary to expand trade relations on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, holding aloft the banner of Bandung, and to strengthen economic co-operation proceeding from the stand of sincerely hoping for the firm independence and prosperity of partner countries.

Our country has established friendly relations with the newborn independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and has been adhering to the consistent line of expanding equal and mutually beneficial trade relations with them.

The establishment of such normal trade relations will be conducive to the consolidation of friendly co-operation among us and beneficial to each side. Our country has now established trade relations with more than 30 capitalist countries, and exports machines, equipment, chemical fertilizers, other chemical products, various specifications of structural steel and non-ferrous metals, building materials and mass-consumption goods, and imports rubber, cotton, vegetable oil, etc.

Our country has also been expanding trade with other capitalist countries which are desirous of good relations with us on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and territorial integrity.

Fellow delegates, we consider it necessary for the further development of trade relations among the Afro-Asian countries to take decisive measures against the aggressive trade policy of U.S. imperialism and old and new colonialism and settle the following problems:

- (1) To conclude inter-governmental trade agreements, and actively provide equal and mutually beneficial trade conditions; and, at the same time, exchange trade missions with each other even before the establishment of diplomatic relations to deepen understanding and friendship;
- (2) To provide favourable conditions for expanding the import of commodities by taking preferential measures in the tariff on them;
- (3) To conclude payment agreements and correspondent agreements which will ensure mutually beneficial liquidation in relation to trade and invisible trade;
- (4) To actively exchange data on developments and prospects of economy and trade through the enhanced role of the committee for trade promotion and the chamber of commerce and industry in each country and unroll activities energetically to mediate in newly established trade relations.

Should such measures be taken by each government, it will open up a new phase in the development of trade among Afro-Asian countries.

The construction of independent national economies is the cardinal problem of first and foremost importance for the Afro-Asian countries to ensure independence in trade and expand trade with foreign countries

on their own initiative. The firmer foundations of independent national economies are built, the more confidently we can reject penetration of the U.S.-led old and new colonialists and the more successfully we can develop trade relations on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Let all of us strive to expand trade relations decisively among the Afro-Asian countries while building independent economies by tapping internal reserves to a maximum!

## TELLO NKHEREANYE (Basutoland)

I should like to commend our Chinese and Japanese friends for their very clear, lucid and precise reports. The reports cover an important aspect of our economic activity — trade and mutual co-operation between our two mighty sister continents. While the paper presented by our Korean friends deals with self-reliance and economic independence on a national front, the papers now under review raise these fundamental principles to a higher plane—the international plane of economic co-operation and trade among the peoples of our two continents. By turning away from the clutches of imperialist exploitation through the so-called traditional international trade between the advanced capitalist countries and the less developed countries of Asia and Africa, we shall be able to isolate the imperialists and thus lend a final blow to the long-standing imperialist exploitation and old and new colonialism.

In order that we should comprehend the full import of the urgent need to establish more and lasting trade and other forms of economic co-operation among the Asian and African countries, it is necessary that we take a brief glance at the historical background of colonial exploitation in the last 18th and 19th centuries.

The consequences of far-flung colonial trade, combined with piracy, outright plunder, slave traffic, and discovery of mineral resources led to a quick accumulation of vast fortunes in the hands of western imperialist merchants.

The wealth thus formed had the tendency to snowball. For instance the navigation requirements lent powerful stimulus to scientific discovery and technological progress, shipbuilding, requirements of overseas expeditions, the manufacturing of arms and other (gun-boat) supplies required by them for protecting their so-called overseas trading interests — (all) provided a great impulse to the growth of capitalist enterprise. Of particular interest in this context is the fact that the state became more and more under the control of capitalist interests, because an active instrument in aiding and encouraging the so-called budding entrepreneurs. They all began to employ, in Marx terms “the power of the state, the concentrated and organized force of society, to hasten, hothouse fashion, the transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode, and to shorten the transition” (Marx, Capital (Kerred) Vol. IP. 823).



Thus in this way Western merchants engaged in outright plunder and exploitation sometimes thinly veiled as trade, seizing tremendous wealth from places of their penetrations — colonies. It was on these ridiculous foundations that the so-called traditional international trade as we know it, today, was established. It paved the way to imperialism and to the present day neo-colonialism or as our Chinese friends prefer to call it — colonialism, old and new — Furthermore our studies of capitalist economy have enlightened us more. For instance, common experience in traditional international trade shows that when an advanced industrialized capitalist country is trading with a less developed one, “the normal result is the initiation of a consultative process towards the impoverishment and stagnation of the latter”. (Burnar Myrdal, *Economic Theory and Under-developed Regions*, P. 56).

The so-called traditional international trade is nothing but a process of exploitation in favour of the advanced capitalist countries. We must destroy it completely. This, then, calls for a closer scientific co-operation between the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America of their blueprints for industrialisation; or perhaps broader schemes of economic co-operation between developing countries. More, mere taking of commercial measures, reducing or abolishing of customs tariffs, etc., will not take us far.

This view (attitude) is not only born by our anti-imperialist outlook, but by recent economic experiences as well. For instance in recent times we have found out that the developing countries, taken as a whole, are facing severe “trade gap”! The average annual rate of growth of their exports has been lagging far behind the rate of expansion of imports. During the year 1953-60 the developing countries increased their imports at a rate of 5.5 per cent a year; in other words faster than the increase of national income, which may conservatively be put at 3·5-4 per cent, while on the other hand exports hardly kept pace with the national income, being roughly 3.5 per cent per annum. At present exports from less developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America cover roughly 90 per cent of their imports. Thus there is a 10 per cent gap of uncovered merchandise imports, to say the least of the heavy deficit on the untouched areas of the balance of payments. This is due to the fact that; apart from purely imperialist designs of the advanced Western countries, there is at the same time a growing lack of a sufficient demand on the world capitalist market for several traditional export goods produced by the exploited countries due to development of new substitutes in the advanced countries, which accounts, among other things, for the adverse terms of trade

and secondly the mounting difficulties on the import bill of developing countries, as a result of development schemes as well as of unsatisfactory internal supply of food and fuels in some underdeveloped countries.

Furthermore, we have already indicated earlier that the traditional division of labour evolved in the 18th and 19th centuries was designed to be trap for the former colonial countries, forcing them into a narrow specialisation which compelled them to become heavily and solely dependent on foreign trade in primary commodities. For these and other reasons the Asian and African countries require careful international planning and closer economic associations between themselves. As a starting point the establishment of state monopolies of foreign trade in individual Asian and African countries would facilitate arrangements for long term bilateral agreements between the two sister continents, as well as enable them to eliminate unessential imports of luxury goods especially from the West.

This calls for bold policies based on self-reliance, especially those unfortunate countries already tied to the neo-colonial aprons of imperialist Common Markets.

It is in the light of the above arguments that I find the statement made by the honourable leader of the Chinese delegation most useful and thought provoking and worthy of our considered study. It is in the field of Asian and African economic co-operation that we can ensure our own national self-reliance and establish ever stronger independence of our national economies. We have in Asia and Africa inexhaustible resources both human and material and it is high time that we ceased going about begging the imperialists for their so-called "economic or technical aid".

We the peoples of Asia and Africa have a glorious past; we have defeated the horrors of slavery, of colonialism and we can survive this age of neo-colonialism and emerge once again masters of our own destiny.

## BETTY MARGARET (Australia)

Permit me to express my gratitude to the Asian Economic Bureau for their generous invitation to take part in this Seminar.

I would also like to pay my respect and heartfelt thanks to the Korean AA Solidarity Committee, and to all the Korean people for the wonderful hospitality extended to all delegates.

To meet in the city of Pyongyang is like meeting on the first day of Spring — a city bursting with the new Socialist life, that the people of Korea are building with their labour, under the wise leadership of the Korean Workers' Party led by Chairman Kim Il Sung.

While endorsing the content of the main report, I wish to add my contribution to the report delivered by Victor James.

The examples and experiences related by all the previous speakers of the dangers of Neo-colonialism as practised by imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism are manifesting themselves in the "democratic" country of Australia.

The process of concentration of capital is taking place very rapidly in the Australian economy.

The contradictions between the big monopolies are growing sharper and the contradictions between the big monopolies and the small capitalists are deepening.

A growing tendency is for these monopolies to control the market right from the source of raw materials through to the selling of the finished article, raking off enormous profits along the way.

A larger number of the heavier industries are totally foreign owned, mainly U.S. which is replacing British domination — or they have over 50% of foreign capital invested in them — industries such as, petroleum, aluminium, steel plastics, explosives, motor vehicles, rubber and synthetic rubber products, power transformers, etc.

Four fifths of the oil industry is in foreign hands — mainly U.S.

America controls all the uranium production in Australia — they make 18/- profit out of every £1 sold.

American investment reaches into every aspect of Australian life.

Examination of U.S. practice shows in fact that they invest a relatively small amounts of capital for extremely large profits. i.e. the original U.S. investment in General Motor Holden was £ 1,750,000 — In 1963, G.M.H. disclosed profit was £ 154,500,000. 86% of it going back to America.

Part of the profit from U.S. controlled industry is being ploughed back to expand their grip on Australia. In fact Australian money is being used to enrich American monopolies and to tighten her economic and political domination over Australia. So much for the so often repeated augment that we should be thankful to America for investing their money here to “help develop Australia”.

It is the practice of American monopolies to refuse Australian capitalists the opportunity to invest in this concerns. This is meeting with strong opposition among the Australian capitalists and an equally strong demand to the Government, to restrict the amount of foreign capital and to allow Australian capitalists to share in the profits gained by the exploitation of the Australian working class.

As the delegate from Indonesia said in his excellent report, to safeguard their vested economic interests, the imperialists utilize the political apparatus in these countries as the basis of Neo-colonialism.

This has brought a growth of legislation to protect monopoly and to legalise its increased exploitation of the working people such as the penal clauses directed against the struggles of the working class.

The Crimes Act has been amended drastically—extending the death penalty for working class activity, also prohibiting criticism of the friendly powers of the Australian Government.

i.e. If the U.S. Government was declared a friendly power — by legislation — any criticism of her acts of aggression could bring the death penalty.

The foreign policy of the Labour Party, i.e., Social Democrats can not be distinguish from that of the Menzies Government.

They advocate the stepping up of war expenditure, give support to Malaysia, support Australian troops to South Vietnam and North Kalimantan.

They have given tactical support to the U.S. Base at Exmouth Gulf and other U.S. secret bases in Australia. The Australian Government is a

puppet of U.S. imperialist assisting to turn Australia into a Neo-colonialist state. It turns and twists as Washington demands. At the same time Australian monopoly has vast economic interest in Malaysia.

The Australian working class and the workers in Malaysia are jointly exploited by big monopolies such as Dunlop Rubber, Hume Pipes, etc.

When the workers at Dunlop went on strike last year they were savagely fired by the Government. Are the Australian monopolies going to be concussed with helping the Malaysian workers develop an independent economy?

The director of Humes Pipes Aust — Malaysia is Sir John Lathan. He is the author of the latest addition to the crimes act — a fitting person to be kind and benevolent to the Malaysian people?

The reports and discussion at this Seminar will assist us in Australia to nail the lies of the revisionists when they direct the peace movement into a pacifist movement between the imperialist and socialist countries — calling for economic co-operation to end Neo-colonialism.

The results of this seminar will be resolutely fought for by all progressive people in Australia.

The main reports prove that they truly represent the needs and aspiration of the Asian and African people including the Australian people.

We have the task of building a United Front against the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism which has turned Australia into a neo-colonialist satellite country.

We shall undertake this task with the moral and active support of all the Asian and African countries.

## AHMED MOHAMED KHEIR (Sudan)

I would like to make a few comments on the report delivered by the Japanese friend. The report "on the promotion of trade relations among the Afro-Asian countries" which has been submitted by the Japanese delegate is a comprehensive one and provides many reasonable solutions for the problems we are facing in this field.

To my mind there can be no genuine co-operation and development of trade relations among Afro-Asian countries in isolation from the political attitude of the Afro-Asian Governments towards each other, or in isolation of the Government's attitude towards the struggle against imperialism and towards our solidarity. There are many obstacles in the way of the Afro-Asian people's endeavour to promote their relations among these countries on the basis of mutual benefit.

Some of these are as follows:

- (a) The control of the imperialists on the foreign trade of many Afro-Asian countries.
- (b) The presence of puppet Government which obediently obey their imperialist masters by imposing measures on trade, measures which are only beneficial to foreign monopoly capital and imperialism.
- (c) The fact that Afro-Asian countries know very little about the possibility of each other in the field of trade presents a big difficulty in the face of the popular sentiment and movement wishing real trade co-operation among Afro-Asian countries on the basis of mutual benefit.

Therefore, it is necessary to my mind to consider the question of co-operation in trade and the development of trade as a part of the political struggle against the imperialist influence and control in the different fields of life in a country.

We have seen that some African countries which had no trade relations before independence with socialist countries have developed such trade relations after the attainment of their independence and after they embarked on a policy of fighting against imperialism and foreign monopoly capital in their own countries.

Examples of such countries can be given as Mali, Guinea, Algeria and Ghana.

The proposal put forward by the Japanese delegate that to ask governments of Asian and African countries to send trade missions to other countries where there are no diplomatic relations with the purpose of developing trade on the basis of mutual benefit is a practical and constructive one. We support it and we add that in such cases where diplomatic relations do not exist it might also be of use to organize trade fairs and exhibitions which help the people to understand the potentiality of the advanced countries of our Afro-Asian brothers.

Documentary films, and will help the people to understand that certain Afro-Asian countries among us, are really developed and can do a lot to promote trade relations.

We have to expect imperialists obstructing the development of normal trade relations among our countries on the basis of mutual benefit.

We have seen some time ago how the imperialists and their stooges resorted to unreasonable and unjust measures in relation to the Chinese trade personnel in Brazil who went to organize an exhibition in that country with the purpose of strengthening the economic and trade relations between China and Brazil.

The third point which I would like to mention is that co-operation and development of trade, as we understand it, among Afro-Asian countries must be clearly distinguished from that of certain people who advocate co-operation and trade relations with imperialist countries and world monopoly capital with the purpose of invading and plundering the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, with the purpose of serving their egoistic and narrow chauvinistic interest. It must also be distinguished from the slogans that these people raise, such slogans as co-operation with imperialist countries for the purpose, as they claim of helping the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to find more markets for their agricultural produce and raw materials.

The Japanese report was correct in the way it analyzed and tackled the problems we face. The report said:

“The trade among Afro-Asian countries cannot flourish without completely doing away with imperialism and colonialism”.

And also I would like to add that trade cannot flourish among the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries without combating such harmful tendencies.

Fourthly, I would like to mention in relation to the development of trade the necessity of encouraging national capital working in this particular field.

Such capital suffers a great deal from the competition of foreign monopoly on trade. And such national capital must be supported and protected against foreign monopoly capital.



## **SUPRIJO (Indonesia)**

I would like to say, that the Indonesian delegation fully support the report by the Japanese delegation under title of "Trade relationship between Asian and African countries".

As I have said before, your report will be a great contribution among us, and we can clearly understand what kind of problems we are facing now, and what kind of action we may do further.

Our fellow delegate from Algeria Mr. Temmar Hamid said, that "the report put forward by Mr. Tanaka from Japan is an important one". We agree the Japanese report comprises a vital and important problem at this present, that is, the problem of trade relationship between Asian and African countries.

As also stated by Mr. Nan Han Chen in his conclusion report yesterday, that, unfortunately economic ties among Asian-African countries are still rather weak or limited. Quoted from a rather not up to date figure from the ECAFE data for 1955 but still worthy for making evaluation that for instance "Asia and the Far East countries do only one third of their business among themselves comprising 32.6% in export and 35.1% in imports. (And in this figure included a large share of re-export by the entrepot trade of Singapore-Penang-Hongkong, etc.). According to the same sources, the data for 1955 shows that the share of trade among the Afro-Asian countries does not exceed 10.5% of the total volume of their foreign trade.

It is naturally not surprising for us. As we know, excluding the socialist countries (People's China, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Democratic People's Republic of Korea), our economic pattern is still in a transitional period of changing from a colonial economy to a independent economy. That is to say we are realising the path of self-reliance in the building of an independent economy.

We are also aware that the newly emerging countries in Asia and Africa as a rule import manufactures, and it is quite natural being still swimming in the "old" pattern of economy and that the industrial countries almost in the West are their chief partners in this. Having forcibly bound the colonies to the metropolitan areas as a purveyor of primary

products, the imperialist destroyed the trade ties existing in our continent in the past, and replaced them with unequal relations which turned vast expanses in Asia and Africa into part of world capitalist economy. Even now, they still do so to a certain degree, and the profits they make in Asia and Africa are just a big and in some cases even bigger than when our continents were still colonies. That is what we have defined as economic dependency.

If I may say frankly, the newly emerging countries till today, are a victim of their "old masters". At the same time, those "old masters" have maintained tariff and other barriers to block our trade expansion and the diversification of our exports, while benefiting increasingly from their scientific and technological advances, their accumulation of capital resources, and their technical know-how.

These or some factors have contributed to the critical trading position of the newly emerging countries as regards their lagging volume in trade (exports), the deterioration in their terms of trade, and generally not only hampered the growth of economic co-operation between AA countries, but also the decline in their share in world trade.

Our friends, from Japan Mr. Shujiro Tanaka also quoted Dr. Raul Prebisch "that the ratio of trade among 'underdeveloped countries' against total volume of their trade is even decreasing from 26% in 1950 to 22% in 1962". (Dr. Raul Prebisch Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development report before the Conference of trade and development); I will also quote Dr. Prebisch who to the same occasion stated "if this situation is allowed to continue, the trade gap may reach an order of magnitude of 20 billion dollars by 1970.

If this were to happen, we may be certain that not only would the newly independence countries have reached their breaking point, but also there would be no one left for the industrialized countries to trade with, except each other, Dr. Prebisch stated.

Therefore, dealing with the question of enlarging trade relations between AA countries, I am fully agree with the analysis made by Mr. Tanaka in his report, "that all nations of both regions should in the first place, achieve independent and modern national economies, and should enhance the abilities of variety and multiplicity in trading. And also to utilize resources including mining and agricultural products, now being monopolized by colonialist, for our own economies as well as for mutual trading in Afro-Asian countries.

Several delegates said that Africa as well as Asia are potentially rich. Well, it is true, indeed. The problem is how these riches can be best used, how to promote mutually advantageous co-operation between Asia and Africa. There are two aspects in co-operation, co-operation in the imperialist way, besides this there is another type of co-operation that is co-operation in a fraternal way. Co-operation in the imperialist way means also relations of domination and subordination, forcible adaptation of the economy of one country to the needs of another, in the interests of the monopolies. And the other one, is a fraternal co-operation, and if I may quote Mr. Kheir in his comments:— “it is a new moral of co-operation”. And also “a new moral of relation” or fraternal relations. These relations, I repeat again what was already stated by many of our fellow delegates, must be based on equality and mutual benefit, as correctly stated “based on the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference”.

Mr. Tanaka in his report also urges the need to improve mutual co-operation among Asian-African countries, in marine, air, communication services in order to develop trade. As far as land-locked countries concerned these problems should be more important to be considered, for instance, countries like Nepal in Asia and Cameroon in Africa. In this connection I will make some comment: that many steps taken by the imperialists to freight conference in order to have control in the flow of goods while AA countries are still in their total tonnage in their trade armada, that we AA countries could not establish any freight conferences because by establishing this they could not get enough cargo or boycotted to get a cargo from the Western freight conferences.

There are freight wars often between the Japanese Freight Conference and the American Freight Conference, within Japanese Freight Conference and the British Freight Conference. What will be the reason why they are making a “war”. The answer is profit, and domination of prices, and control of flow of goods, so that they can maintain high shipping rates for the benefit of the monopolists, such as HAPAG, Ben Line, Maresk Line, RIL, Blue Funnel Line, OSK, American Shipping Liners, P & O, etc.

In my opinion, because of the inadequate data I cannot give you a complete picture but most of the Asian-African ports are still controlled by the monopolist shipping liners, and they dictate shipping tariff. In this way, monopolist shipping liners force and defeat the national shipping liners. They fail to get cargo for home (national) destination

as well as for international destination, included also cargos destined to Asian and African countries. At this present moment the AA national shippings agencies except Japanese monopolist shipping agencies are still weak. They are not able to compete with the mammoth monopolist shipping agencies. Therefore I am of the same opinion as Mr. Tanaka in his proposal, that AA countries should co-operate together in shipping as well as air transport. Also in communications, bilaterally or multilaterally based on equality and mutual benefit. It is worthy to be mentioned that in many countries in Asia and Africa, means of communication is still in the hand of the monopolist, for example cable communication is still in the hand of Cable and Wireless and their like. Considered those problems as an important one, the way out would be co-operation among AA countries in this field.

The foreign trade or international trade of the respective countries in Asia and Africa is one of the most important pillars of the various national economies, because of the onesidedness of the national economy concerned, caused by the colonial powers. The imperialist powers especially the U.S. is always trying to keep the onesidedness of the newly independent countries through an intensive control in the foreign trade with all means of the primary producing countries or the raw material producing countries. These mean also an obstacle for the further development of trade among AA countries.

Problem arises as how to eradicate onesidedness. That is, to change according to the balance, home and foreign trade by implementing of planning in this sector, and to diversify their export trade by processing their raw materials wherever economically feasible, before export. This new undertaking must be consolidated as a basis for the further step of development.

There are also some more problems. Problem of the dependency of the monetary policy of the primary producing countries on the "convertible foreign currency" (on the U.S. dollar), through the international Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Development Agency, etc. As has been stated by our Sudan friend Ahmed Kheir, that all these international monetary agencies are the tools of the capital monopolist and become an effective tool of the U.S. imperialist in mastering more of the funds concerned. All these agencies are used effectively for a "dollar diplomacy" in the world. Under the terms of the IMF, the member states have not the full sovereignty in

their monetary policy. In such ways the U.S. monopolies can secure and control the foreign trade of these countries through international payments.

Take for example Indonesia.

Indonesia is interested in promoting international trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Foreign trade is still the greatest component as a part in the government earning. More than 60% of its revenue depends on foreign trade, especially an "old look" pattern of foreign trade, and therefore Indonesia is still depending on the fluctuations of the world market, on the ups and downs in prices now being controlled by the monopolist. That also means the up and down trends in the foreign trade is the barometer of the economic and monetary situation of the countries concerned. According to the periodical monthly reports of the United Nations on economy, the same situation is facing other primary commodities exporting countries.

In the near future bilateral and multilateral arrangements in foreign trade and international payments between AA countries is the best possible way to lessen the heavy burden of the primary producing countries.

Another problem is the trade policy adopted by mostly AA countries. Some times this policy could be considered as a bottleneck in order to enlarge and develop trade between AA countries. These bottlenecks can be reduced gradually through a sound trade policy beneficial for each other. Six proposals forwarded by our Chinese fellow delegate Mr. Nan Han Chen especially proposal number 3, I believe, if it is sincerely realized, can avoid this bottleneck. I quote "The Asian (African) countries should, in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit and according to their needs and possibilities, gradually and reasonably expand trade among themselves. To this end, the most favoured nation treatment or preferential treatment should be extended to each other reciprocally as far as tariff and other matters are concerned. In importing primary products, semi-manufactured goods needed for the development of national economy, priority should be given to Asian (African) countries, in order to create conditions for the gradual development of multilateral trade and multilateral clearance, etc. . .".

Finally I would like to comment on the future activities of the bureau. Let us strengthen our Bureau facilities, personnel, and also carry out a concrete activity program. Beside this, all member countries should co-operate together to fulfill Mr. Tanaka's proposals to have proper knowledge about each other in the economic field, in order to promote trade relationships, that is, to exchange informations, data, etc., in detail. But the function of our Bureau will, ever and forever, be the guiding force of our struggle to achieve an independent economy free from foreign domination and exploitation.

## WADADA MUSANI (Uganda)

I wish to express my thanks to the Japanese comrades for the informative report and the working paper chart on international imperialist capital from the year 1947-1960. This chart shows the ever increasing exploitation of international capital and the imperialist plague that has been spread in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This imperialist disease (which is international capital) must be cured before it consumes us all and confines our countries into the quarantine of history.

The Chinese and Japanese comrades' reports brought more to the fore the dangers of U.S. economists and their deceptive theories and economic solutions. U.S. economists because they know our difficulties and problems propose solutions in the form of imperialism of the worst nature and neo-colonialism based on long term basis and deceptive business lines with pretence of having no strings by advancing such concepts as "the vicious circle of poverty". They make an analysis of it pointing out low standards of income, saying ability is less, low income is reflected in the productivity and want of capital—the imperialist economists take undue advantage of our difficulties and because of this fact their solutions on the face appear laudable. They enlist support from economists in some of our countries and other countries (and also through training economists) who come to their aid and because they belong to their own countries, the people of the Afro-Asian countries are likely to believe in their solutions. These imperialists economists and their agents should be closely watched and refuted as soon as they introduce any imperialistic economic theories. This Seminar has also been inspiring in that it has exposed many of such imperialist economists' deception and the Japanese comrade has done well in exposing them.

It is only the economists of the socialist countries and those progressive economists of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries that can be trusted for these basing their thinking on the fight against imperialist exploitation and oppression and working on the basis of the maximum good of the masses, will give a true and correct solution.

The Japanese comrade's denial of possible capitalistic way of development through wise management is of great interest and its danger

of corruption by bourgeoisie elements and landlords is good advice and food for thought for many of us.

U.S. imperialism specialises in placing economic advisers in the Afro-Asian countries. These people not only make reports to their capitalists for opportunities of investment but also write pamphlets to be read by the public on the economic problems of the country and offer solutions. Thus they not only open ways imperialists for capitalist exploitation but confuse people by giving imperialist solutions based on the peoples problems.

In concluding I wish to thank the Japanese comrade for the wide basis of future trade with Japan. I feel that this trade relationship which will bring about the assisting of African countries to set up industries can only be done if the progressive forces of Japan are in power in that country. May I wish future victory of the progressive forces of Japan. When this comes about and if co-operation of Japanese, Chinese and Korean and other more developed Afro-Asian countries are based on the right principles proposed by the Chinese government, we shall look forward to a happy and prosperous future in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.



## **SUMMING UP**

**Prof. YOSHIHARA KITADA (Japan)**

We, the Japanese delegation summarize the discussion on the subject of Trade Relationship between Asian and African countries.

We are very much thankful for the observations made by the delegates from China, Korea, Basutoland, Australia, Sudan, Indonesia and Uganda.

These observations clarified more concretely that the problem how to establish and develop trade relationships between Asian and African countries is closely connected with other problems which have been discussed so far in this Seminar. A Basutoland delegate stressed the world international trade system of today is nothing but a system to exploit the Afro-Asian countries and also scrutinized the neo-colonialistic character of the European Common Market. An Australian delegate gave us a clear picture of the economic situation of Australia and exposed the fact that the U.S. is taking the place of Britain in that country. A Sudanese delegate accounted for the urgency of strengthening the struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism in light of various concrete problems concerning the development of trade.

A Korean delegate stressed in his speech that the establishment of independent national economy is a prerequisite to the implementation of independent trade policy. He also made important practical suggestions such as the conclusion of trade agreement and payment agreement and also the establishment of preferential tariff system for the sake of trade development. Furthermore, he reported that the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea had already opened trade relations with more than 30 countries in the non-socialistic world in spite of the ceaseless hindrance by the imperialists. We can draw valuable lessons from the efforts of the Korean friends who attained brilliant results for the promotion of trade.

An Indonesian delegate specified how the imperialists are controlling international trade, communication, shipping and so on and urged us to find out the ways and means to overcome the difficulties and to promote fraternal co-operation among the Afro-Asian countries.

The Uganda delegate refuted the imperialist economists who played a vicious role in the old colonial age and who are still acting in the way in newly independent countries.

We may say that all of us have reached a common standpoint on the problem of the relation between the development of independent national economy and the promotion of equal and co-beneficial trade. It goes without saying that the future of Asia and Africa is promised and the development of co-beneficial trade will contribute to cementing the ties between the peoples. We are confident that we will be able to co-operate more closely in solving the questions and removing the obstacles lying on the road to the final victory.

## PART VII

### REPORT ON SOUTH EAST PACIFIC—REWI ALLEY

I bring to you at this Asian Economic Seminar the greetings of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and the Pacific Regions. In your deliberations it will be useful perhaps, if some background is given you on conditions in the extensions of South East Asia which run from the Australian land border with Indonesia, in New Guinea out into the South Pacific, until they touch on the Chilnan territory of Eastern Island. This with special reference to matters which concern the indigenous peoples there.

One can start best with the Australian Territory of Papua and New Guinea. This is the area that has a common border with Indonesia. It consists of two sections. The first is Papua, which was once British New Guinea before it was handed over to Australia. The second is old German New Guinea, mandated to Australian control after the First World War, and occupied by the Japanese Army during the Second. Papua has 90,540 square miles of territory, of which 67,656 are on the mainland and 2,754 on the 200 adjacent islands. The old mandated territory of New Guinea has around a million and half people 11,000, Asiatic 2,000 and the rest, folk of many Asiatic derivations originally, now divided into tribal communities. In all, they occupy 93,000 square miles, including many islands. In 1956, of the total territory controlled by Australia, 148,175 square miles, was said to be under the colonial government control, 18,155 square miles under influence, 10,600 square miles under partial influence and 7,100 square miles never yet penetrated by government patrols. One of the off-shore islands of the territory, Manus Island was used by the U.S.A. at the end of the Second World War for a mammoth base called a Seadler Harbour. The Australian government is now the caretaker of this. The economy of the area is backward. There are but 60,000 regularly employed workers. Copra, gold, coffee, cocoa, timber, livestock have brought considerable wealth to those who have come from Australia to exploit them. Oil reserves are said to be considerable, but rights to exploit these have been granted the principal oil companies of international oil monopoly. Many deposits of minerals are known to exist—tin, copper, manganese, lead and so on. Exports for the whole

territory for 1957-58 amounted to around 9,600,000 pounds in value, imports to around eleven and a half million. As a colony, it will be remembered, the principal importers and the exporters set prices.

On the continent of Australia itself, the old Australians, a people possibly of Dravidian descent, have been reduced in the last century to a pitiful 40,000 or so, denied human rights, proper wages, decent living conditions and the right to own the land of reserves they are herded into. U.S. monopoly makes immense strides into Australia, with a huge new base at Exmouth in Western Australia leading the nine known ones in the country. All the main sections of American monopoly are represented in the looting of this continent. "In every area of national strength, America today is stronger than it has ever been before. It is stronger than any adversary or group of adversaries. It is stronger than the combined might of all the nations in the world", wildly boasted President Johnson in a recent June 1964 speech. "We are a nation of pioneers, knowing no frontiers, restless, energetic, leaping from one foothold to the next", another U.S. Political commentator has said. This is true in the South Pacific. Not only has the U.S. gained a stronghold in the cultural and economic life of Australia, but it has also done so in New Zealand, where it has a big base for its operations down on Antarctica. Western Samoa, once mandated to New Zealand, is now independent, though as a tiny country of 100,000 people it is hedged in by neo-colonialism. Eastern Samoa, is still ruled by the U.S. Department of the Interior. Other U.S. colonies are Guam and the 2,141 islands of Micronesia, once German, then Japanese and now U.S. controlled.

British colonies in the South Pacific include the Fijian Islands. In Fiji, Indians have been brought in to operate the sugar cane plantation and refineries of the Colonial Sugar Refining Co., an Australian monopoly. Exports of all commodities in 1958 were valued at fourteen million pounds, imports at 17,529,000. Amongst exports are sugar which takes up half the total or more, gold, coconut oil, bananas, pineapples, timber and manganese. The colony comprises 320 islands, 105 of which are inhabited. Its population is under half a million, with Indians—around 180,000—native Fijians around 150,000, Europeans around 15,000, 10,000 other Pacific islanders, and around 4,000 Chinese. The colonial government sent a battalion of Fijians to fight against the people's forces in Malaysia in the fifties, and as amongst all native peoples in the South Pacific the various missionary societies, including many from the U.S.A., have a great deal of influence. Sometimes one missionary society will gain real control over one island, another society over the next. American

Mormons and Seventh Day Adventists, as well as many another strange cult have subplanted local tabu ones. The insistence on clothing by some missions resulted in widespread decimation by T.B. through lack of the accustomed sunlight, for many of the islanders all through the Pacific.

Of great economic value to the countries concerned, Britain, Australia and New Zealand, are the phosphate deposits of Naru and Ocean Island in the Gilbert and Ellice group. Naru is worked by these three governments in conjunction with those on Ocean Island. Naru exported 1,278,175 tons of phosphate in 1957, Australia getting 755,538, New Zealand 391,588 and Britain 131,050 tons respectively. Ocean Island exports in the same year were around 300,000 tons of phosphate.

France has the Polynesian group of around 100 islands centered by Tahiti, now in the air age a growing tourist center. There is a present population of around 40,000. Explorers in the early days of the mid-eighteenth century found a population of 240,000 in the Society Islands—a part of the Tahiti group—alone. In 1958, 838 million francs of imports came to the islands, while exports were valued at around 739,000,000. Exports include copra, mother of pearl, vanilla and phosphate. Preparations are now being made for atom bomb testing off the island of Mangareva in the Gambier group of French Polynesia, despite protests from New Zealand and Australia. A French Catholic priest in the mid-nineteenth century forced the natives over whom he was the practical ruler to erect huge, stone block Catholic cathedral and other religious buildings, causing the death of many Polynesians unaccustomed to such driving toil in such a climate. The people of the Marquesan Islands of this French controlled Polynesia were practically exterminated with white man's diseases after their introduction last century. Their story is the most tragic and sordid one in the whole history of the Pacific. New Caledonia, a territory of the French Union, is France's richest possession in Oceania. With a population of around 80,000 it has been used as a penal settlement for Vietnamese convicted of political offenses against the old Indo-China Government. It includes the Loyalty Islands, the Island of Pines, Huon Islands and the Wallis and Fortuna archipelago. It exports annually around 4,000 million francs worth of products, and imports around the same amount. The mineral resources of the islands are enormous. It has possibly the best deposit of arsenic free nickel in the world as well as cobalt, iron, coal, antimony, copper and many other valuable minerals. Around 400,000,000 francs worth of coal are shipped annually to Australia. Nickel accounts for over half of the exports. The U.S.A. has now taken over from France in the task of

harrying the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples today, hoping to succeed where France failed. Today the U.S. is pushing in on all doors in the South Pacific, New Caledonia included.

The case of the New Hebrides Islands is an unusual one. Here we find an area jointly administered by Britain and France. There are twelve main islands centering at Vila on the island of Efate. It has around 50,000 native people, two thousand French and 2,000 Vietnamese under French jurisdiction. Its imports are valued at around one and a half million pounds with exports balancing.

Western Samoa was formerly a German colony. Then after the First World War it was mandated to New Zealand. It has now an independent status. There are around 100,000 natives and 10,000 people of mixed parentage. Imports and exports balance at around two million pounds a year.

The Solomon Islands are a British protectorate, administered by the Colonial Office of London. There are ten large islands or clusters of islands with a total population of around 110,000. Guadalcanal, famous in the Second World War as a battle ground, is one of them. There took place after the end of the Second World War, a native movement called "The Marching Rule". This was a brotherhood, said by some to have grown up after the coming in of Carlson's "Gung Ho" raiders, with their leftist views. Lasting until around 1955, and expressing itself in hostility to European rule and to entering into contract labour, it was dissolved. Hostility in other areas has been evinced by the police strike in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, and by a general worker's strike in Fiji, where Indians and local Fijians held together. As all of these tens of thousands of islands in the Pacific, however, are under colonial rule, reports of protest movements are not always available. Naru phosphate workers were supported by progressives in New Zealand in their recent struggle for better conditions, though the Government of New Zealand sent a warship to help to quell trouble.

The Islands of Tonga are a monarchy, a colonial protectorate of Great Britain. They have a population of around 60,000. Imports and exports balance at around two million pounds a year. There is a good deal of undeveloped land. Copra, bananas and pineapple for the New Zealand market being principal exports. The Cook Islands are a New Zealand dependency, though its people cannot travel or live in New Zealand without permit. Its fifteen islands have an area of 57,002 acres,

and a population of around 17,000. Missionaries have had great power in these islands and were responsible for moral codes hatched in grim chapels, and in reality trying to give the native a strong sense of inferiority. Farm is on the decline, Raratonga is more and more becoming a winter tourist resort for wealthier people in New Zealand and Australia.

New Zealand, a country of a rising three million, has around two hundred thousand Maories or part Maories—its original people. The Maori fought back when the Europeans came after this land. Fought so hard he was able to gain treaties which made him equal with the White before the law. Today's Maori works in industry and on the land, increasing with a higher birth rate than the Pakeha as the white is called.

This report is but a swift, overall one, not embracing all aspects, but I hope, showing that these extensions of S. East Asia into the Pacific need the support of all Asian countries as well as African and Latin American in their struggle forward. Here in Korea with the whole of South Korea being wrecked by American imperialism, its economy destroyed, its political structure made into a farce, the threat of American imperialism is very real and near. In the two major countries of Oceania, Australia and New Zealand which together comprise Austral-Asia, the combined population is about that of South Korea. In these the assault of American monopoly given still freer hands would create similar conditions to those already pertaining in South Korea. They would do this with the consent and even the help of the Revisionists amongst the once progressive forces of Australia, who are today being scared by the modern revisionist chieftains into a new hate policy of everything Asian.

Basically, however, the problems of the peoples in Asia and all down the Pacific are the same. The problems of people whose economic interests lie together, whose future lies together in harmony with the basic interests of all peoples. Imperialism and its monopolist henchmen must in the end give way to the needs of advancing peoples. They will gain no real strength from the atomic weapons they are so proud of, and the new dream of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. together controlling the destiny of the peoples of the world is in truth nothing but an illusion that the combined strength of the revolutionary peoples of the world will in the end reduce to naught. This stable, magnificent land of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in which we now meet, a land so lately considered to be destroyed by imperialism, its cities rubble, its people fighting from caves in the hills, is one proof of this.

(At the request of the North Kalimantan delegation to the Asian Economic Seminar, this copy of joint memorandum submitted by political parties in the British Borneo territories to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on September 9, 1962, was distributed to the delegates for information).

### REGISTERED AIR MAIL

The Secretary General,  
United Nations Organisation,  
New York.

Dated 9th September, 1962.

Sir,

We the undersigned representing our respective parties in the territories of Sarawak, British North Borneo and Brunei have the honour to submit herewith a joint memorandum with a view to having it placed before the Committee on Colonies of the United Nations Organisation or any other competent body for consideration and with a view to seeking the intervention of the United Nations in the proposed transfer of sovereignty in British North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak by the United Kingdom Government to the proposed Federation of Malaysia without the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people in these territories, in contravention to the spirit and letter of the Declaration of the United Nations and the Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations General Assembly of the 14th December, 1960.

We further request that in view of the urgency of the matter earliest opportunity be given to us for making oral representations before the Committee.

Yours faithfully,

The United National  
Pasok Momogun Party

*Signature*  
(G.S. SUNDANG)  
*Chairman*

The Party Rakyat  
(People's Party)

*Signature*  
(A.M. AZAHARI MAHMUD)  
*Chairman*

The Sarawak United  
(People's Party)

*Signature*  
(ONG KEE HUI)  
*Chairman*



*Please reply:—*

The Secretary General,  
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P.O. Box 454.  
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*Or by Telegram:—*

Yongsol Secgen Supp  
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### MEMORANDUM

1. The memorandum is submitted by the following political organizations in the British Borneo territories of British North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak viz.:
  - (a) The United National Pasok Momogun Party of British North Borneo—a political party with a membership to date of over 30,000 comprising largely of the native inhabitants of North Borneo together with few hundred Chinese who are either born in North Borneo or have made North Borneo their home and the object of their loyalty.
  - (b) The Party Rakyat of Brunei, a party established in Brunei since 1956 with a membership of 26,000 comprising all races in Brunei and receiving the overwhelming support of Brunei's population of 84,000.
  - (c) The Sarawak United Peoples' Party, the first political party to be formed and is the largest party in Sarawak with a membership to date of 47,000 people, comprising of all races who live in Sarawak and is therefore a most representative Party. Every one in eight of the adult population in Sarawak is a member of the Party.
2. Those three political parties represent the nationalist movement in the territories started independently of each other, are striving for the natural aspiration of the people in the British Borneo territories to achieving self government and independence.
3. Sarawak and British North Borneo (also known as Sabah) are British Colonies without any representative Government.

The Government of United Kingdom has however repeatedly given the pledge that the people in those territories shall be granted self government and independence.

4. Until the middle of 19th century the Sultan of Brunei had exercised sovereignty over Sarawak and over a large part of Sabah. The State of Brunei is a protectorate of the United Kingdom and through her High Commissioner she can assert and has in fact exercised great influence in the conduct of political affairs in this State. It has no representative government.
5. In 1958 the Colonial Government of Sarawak and Sabah, in pursuance of the policy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain at that time called for closer association of the territories of Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei with a view to forming a federation of these territories. The peoples in these territories were urged to accept the same as pre-requisite to grant of independence.

6. On 27th May, 1961 the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya Tunku Abdul Rahman made a statement on concept of Malaysia.

At the prompting of the representatives of governments of Malaya and Singapore, the delegates from North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak attending the regional Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting, proposed the formation of the Malaysi Solidarity Consultative Committee (M.S.C.C.). The pace of and the line taken by this Committee was set or influenced by the representative of the governments of Singapore and Malaya.

7. On 23rd November 1961 a joint statement was issued by the British and Malayan Governments to the effect that formation of a "Federation of Malaysia" was a desirable aim and that a commission was to be set up to ascertain the views of the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak and to make recommendations.
8. The composition of the Commission was Lord Cobbold (Chairman) Sir Anthony Abell (a former Governor of Sarawak), Sir David Watherston, Dato Wong Pow Noe and Enche Mohammed Ghazali bin Shafie. The Chairman was a joint choice by the British and Malayan Governments, and of the four members two were nominated by the British Government and two by the Malayan Government.
9. In view of the decision of the British Government the Colonial Governments of Sarawak and Sabah were bound to support the formation of Malaysia and had utilised every propaganda machine

at their disposals to put the proposal in the most favourable light. In Sarawak and elsewhere charges were indiscriminately made of people who were against Malaysia as Communists, a description equivalent to bandits or foreign agents.

10. The Commission sat in 20 centres in Sarawak and 25 in Sabah. No referendum was taken.
11. The Government of Brunei set up its own committee to ascertain the views of the people there and to forward the finding to his Highness the Sultan.
12. As no public demonstrations were allowed when the Commission was in the Colony of Sarawak, a national signature campaign was launched. Some over 112,000 signatures of adult persons opposing the Malaysia Plan were collected and forwarded to the Commission. These signatures were obtained in very short time and in face of adverse government propaganda. In term of the total population (750,000) 55% of whom are not adults, the persons against Malaysia are substantially large.
13. The assessment of the Commission was that about one third of the population strongly favoured realisation of Malaysia without conditions, one third favoured it with conditions and safeguards and the rest against. This assessment was totally wrong and could not be supported by facts and cannot accepted by independent impartial observers.
14. In August 1962 in a joint Communique, issued by the British and Malayan Governments, it was stated that the proposed Federation of Malaysia should be brought into being by 31st August, 1963 and within 6 months a formal agreement would be concluded to provide for the transfer of sovereignty in Sabah and Sarawak by that state.
15. This decision was against the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and particularly its Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14th December 1960 and of the Nine Cardinal Principles of the Rules of the White Rajah which form part of the present Constitution for Sarawak. The said principles are annexed here to and marked "A".
16. The finding of the Committee set up by H.M. the Sultan of Brunei was that the overwhelming majority of the people in the State is against the Federation of Malaysia.

17. At the recent general elections, candidates of Party Rakyat of Brunei, the only Party in Brunei against the Federation of Malaysia and fighting the elections on that platform were all returned, by winning all the 55 seats.
18. The signatories to this memorandum appeal to the United Nations and urge that:—
- (a) The United Nations Organisation should, in pursuance to its declaration and resolutions, intervene in the proposed transfer of sovereignty in Sarawak and Sabah on the ground that such a transfer is a denial to the peoples in these territories of their right to self determination and of their right to complete independence.
  - (b) Alternative that a plebiscite organised and conducted by the United Nations Organisation be held before such transfer of sovereignty.
  - (c) In accordance with the peoples' freely expressed will and desire and our belief, a Federation or Union of the three Borneo territories viz. Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei be brought about with His Highness the Sultan of Brunei as the Constitutional Head of such a Federation or Union.

Dated this 9th September, 1962.

*Signatures*

The United National Pasok Momogun Party —	G.S. SUNDANG
The Party Rakyat of Brunei —	A.M. AZAHARI MAHMUD
The Sarawak United Peoples' Party —	ONG KEE HUI

## WORKING PAPER

# A STUDY ON AFRO-ASIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

By KIYOSHI MATSUI

### I. Economic Features of Neo-Colonialism

So called neo-colonialism in the post Second World War period shows the considerably different features as compared to that of the pre-war period. Firstly, as a substitute for the old colonialistic empires, U.S.A. has acquired the remarkably increased power. As a mark of this fact, I would like to show the figures regarding the export of the civil base long-term capital of various countries.<sup>1</sup>

#### International Flow of Private Capital

Million \$

	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
U.S.A.	1,185	1,371	1,176	1,591	1,717	1,940	1,312
U.K.						421	506
Total of Continental West Europe							
Belgium Luxembourg				100	30	40	40
France							
West Germany							
Holland							
Swiss			75.6	85	85	117	141
Grand Total							

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
U.S.A.	1,628	1,910	3,426	4,280	3,483	3,392	4,154
U.K.	585	364	557	775	904	883	767
Total of Continental West Europe							
Belgium Luxembourg	874	1,142	1,155	1,026			
France	70	170	160	150	74	84	52
West Germany	490	494	540	457	—	—	—
Holland	54	61	75	185	271	470	339
Swiss	60	517	59	104	250	369	—
Swiss	200	260	321	131	—	—	—
Grand Total	3,087	3,424	5,148	6,081			

U.N.: The international flow of private capital 1956-58, 1959-60.

(i) Statistical Abstract of the U.S.A. 1961.

(ii) First half year only.

The second feature of neo-colonialism is, as Mr. Huang-Chan p'eng of China points out, that it is not so naked and brutal as old colonialism and that it has come to put on the coat which is somehow revisionistic.

1. Japan Economic Planning Bureau: White Paper, p. 271.

2. Peking Review II, 5, 1963.

Mr. Huang describes its slogans as follows:—

- (1) “Economic Aid” of the “Developed Countries” is necessary for the “Underdeveloped Countries”.
- (2) The “Developed Countries”, when they come out for “Economic Aid”, already have abandoned their intention of exploitation and robbing.
- (3) “Economic Aid” of the “Developed Countries” is for the purpose of making the “Underdeveloped Countries” realise their “Independence” by this aid.

Its ideological symbol is “Underdevelopment Economics”, now in vogue in and around U.S.A. Mr. Huang firstly gives R. Nurkse as its example.<sup>3</sup> Among Nurkse’s opinions the first remarkable idea is the view of “Vicious Circle of Poverty”. It means; the standard of net income of peoples of the under-developed countries is low, and therefore saving ability is also less. The low net income is the reflexion of low productive power, and the latter is mainly due to the want of capital. Further, the want of capital is the results of little saving ability. And the way out from this “Vicious Circle of Poverty” is, according to Nurkse, mobilization of surplus labour in the village for industry. Namely according to Nurkse’s opinion, the development of the under-developed country is sought in the formation of capital inside the nation, so in outlook it seems as if it is the same as self-reliance. Nevertheless, as one can understand easily, it needs the agricultural reform in peasants interests by all means. Moreover, when the capital so formed is invested, the democratic planning of nation is necessary. But Nurkse does not come to mention about agricultural reform, and regarding investment he says that it should be left to the free civil enterprises. So the opinion of Nurkse seems to preach “self-reliance” in outlook, but because of his abstract way of thinking it has to rely upon the foreign capital after all. And in that sense we may be able to safely say that it serves U.S. neo-colonialism.

Apart from Nurkse, Myrdal’s opinion also can be said to be revisionistic. He is a Swedish social democrat, and in regard to international inequality produced by old colonialism he describes considerably faithfully.<sup>4</sup> Unequality is explained by him well by the facts, (1) result of international trade, international flow of capital and immigrations,

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3. R. Nurkse: Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries, 1953.

4. G. Myrdal: Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions, 1957.

(2) bad influence and legacy of colonialism, (3) non-existence of world-wide government.

Still when we observe the policy mention by him about how to find out the way out from this international inequality it becomes clear that it is revisionistic. Surely Myrdal emphasizes necessities of raising up of nationalism and national economic planning. But the national political as well as economic independence in the true sense can not be attained without fighting against foreign imperialism. Myrdal's opinion does not touch at all regarding this very battle against foreign imperialism. Myrdal thinks that international inequality can be removed by the establishment of proper national economic plan and its international solidarity, just like inner territorial inequality can be removed by proper division of social produce—social policy. Therefore his views, we can say, are revisionistic in that sense.

Even W.W. Rostow who is thought to be one of the most reactionary bourgeois economists of America gives fair tough opinion.<sup>5</sup> In the twelfth chapter, "main points of foreign aid plan" of U.S. is written.

- (a) America should start to put the hand on the long-term plan as early as possible, in order to promote the self-sustaining economic growth of "free world"—the investment standard proposed in this plan may be enough to increase net income per capita per year by 1.5 to 2 per cent per year, covering the old under-developed countries of free world.
- (b) As a part of this plan American Government has to offer the new long-term capitals of about 10,000-12,000 million dollars to be used for the term of five year as grant or loan in order to promote economic growth of "under-developed countries".
- (c) Other than this amount of capitals offered by U.S., it is necessary to make the governments of other developed industrial countries engage that they may increase grant of loan of 2,000-3,000 million dollars during the same period as a part of consolidated plan of free world.
- (d) Some means to enlarge the international current of civil capital should be arranged. By above mentioned ways etc. it may become possible to acquire the amount exceeding the present standard by 2,000-2,500 million dollars in the first five years.

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5. M.F. Millikan and W.W. Rostow: A Proposal, key to an effective foreign policy, 1957.

- (e) The above mentioned amount of money should be used by “free world” nations without any trace of military and political strings. But by strict, business-like test standard, it should be guaranteed that the loan or grant can be used effectively and that the loan can be paid back within proper term.
- (f) If we adopt such test standard, it is perhaps most unlikely that all the fund offered would be expensed out. In order to avoid that capital want may become the bottleneck of economic growth, possibility for utilizing all the amount must be guaranteed. And it is necessary to promote the Governments and peoples of “under-developed countries” to gain ability to utilize the capitals most effectively.
- (g) We should establish the systematic plans, mobilize the stocks of surplus agricultural products and use them for development through International Food and Textiles Bank. But it should be so planned that the normal market of the exporting countries may not be violated by this supply of food and textile stocks.
- (h) The loans and grants should be carried out by the already established national or international organization including Import-Export Bank and Colombo Plan Organization. But for the purpose of adjusting the information, setting up the basic principles and accepting the test standard of investment plans, a new organization should be established.
- (i) For the purpose that American capitals used for this plan may work fully effectively as a stimulating medium for the international trade, we should avoid to such act as putting the condition by “Buy Americans” etc., upon the fund which we offered. Moreover, if we intend to persuade “under-developed countries” and other industrialised countries to increase the quantity of trade and to take the direction of effective international division of work, we have to exert ourselves for relaxing the barrier of our own country towards international trade.

This article shows such standplays as “no military and political string” and “no condition of Buy Americans”. But if it is read carefully, it only shows American position as the leader of neo-colonialism, which can be seen in the following sentences etc. “We should persuade the Governments of other developed industrial nations as a part of plans of free nations and have them engaged about this”. Again, in the expression that “by strict and businesslike standard of test it should be guaranteed



that loans may be paid back", it is confessed that so-called "aid to the under-developed countries" is made for the interests of U.S. imperialism. And the more remarkable facts are the diplomatic policies which U.S. adopted till now and adopting even now, than the various expressions of words. Neo-colonialism itself is the substantial base of such ideology.

## II. Possibility to Construct and Develop Independent National Economy

Marxism Economics which criticizes Economics for under-developed countries does not deny possibility for construction and development of independent national economy. As an example of it I would like to mention about Prof. Bettelheim's view.<sup>6</sup>

An article of this professor recognizes possibility of development by capitalistic way through wise management, although there exists certain limitations. The word, certain limitations shows such cases as that the nation which was born as an instrument of national independence struggle is corrupted by bourgeoisie and landlords, that discrepancy of interests between these classes makes adjustment of development plan difficult and that the remnants of old relations of production makes the inner territorial market narrow.

So Bettelheim points out anti-imperialistic, anti-feudalistic struggle as the condition to construct and develop independent national economy.

The contents of development plan under such condition is as follows:—

### 1. *Long term plan of Economic Development*

This economic plan, natural as it is under the capitalistic relations of production, is not of compulsory but of guiding nature.

- (i) Investment should be adjusted to development standard of productive power and necessary consuming standard as much possible. (It is hoped that the rate of investment may be raised to 18-25% approximately of the national income).
- (ii) Various kinds of investment should be so adjusted that the maximum effect may be expected. (The rate of investment effect is hoped to be raised up to 40-50%).
- (iii) According to the process of industrialization, economic structure should be modified. Import of capital goods is necessary, but difficulty in the balance of international trade should be avoided.

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6. C.B. Bettelheim: Wachstumsprobleme der wirtschaftlich schwachentwickelten Lander (W. Wirtschaftswissenschaft, 1960, 5).

## 2. *Control of Investment*

National control over investment is necessary.

## 3. *Adjustment of Economic Relations with Foreign Nations*

- (i) Permission system of import and export. Import of material useful for economic development. Export of such materials as is unnecessary for economic development and is able to acquire foreign exchange bill.
- (ii) Incoming of foreign capital. Outflow of profit should be properly adjusted.

## 4. *Development of National Sector*

In most of the newly emerging countries, the nation itself carries out certain investment in order to develop the public sector.

Development of national sector contains following meanings:—

- (i) Nation itself takes up such investment plans and production plans as private capitalistic enterprises do not like to come in because of less profit and danger in investment.
- (ii) National organization is used in order to re-divide one part of national savings.

## 5. *Concentration of Part of Capital Accumulation to the Nation*

Development of national sector looks like socialism, but actually it is only a policy to gain the accumulation rate which surpasses the limit of private capitalism in the condition of under-developed country.

## 6. *Agricultural Reform*

In the newly emerging nations, still -feudalistic relations of land possession remain. To remove this and to make the capitalistic economic development possible, the agricultural reform is necessary.

- (i) Breaking of feudalistic land possession.
- (ii) Ceiling of rent.

## 7. *Various Methods for Improving the Agricultural Technique*

Prof. Bettelheim's view is as above. As is often talked, revolution cannot be exported and should not be exported.

As to what kind of production pattern and what kind of social system is to be adopted is a thing which should be decided by the peoples of every nation themselves.

Therefore I understand that Bettelheim shows possibility of economic development even through the way of capitalism, although he recognizes certain limit there. When the people come to know the limit of development through the way of capitalism, people begin to have bird-eye view towards socialism.

The conditions of development which Prof. Bettelheim gives are rather abstract. And the political, economic and cultural conditions of nations situated in Asia, Africa and Latin America are various. Therefore the concrete methods of development of every nation would be different for each nation. When the concrete methods are to be sought, the article of Bettelheim would be worth consulting.

### **III. Relation between Self-Reliance and Economic Co-operation**

The newly emerging nations, after getting victory in national liberation struggle and winning political independence have to start national construction and stamp poverty and underdeveloped status which were the result by long years of colonial rule. Their economic construction has to be done mainly by their own exertion. Economic co-operation with foreign nations is necessary but it is, in every sense, only a subordinate method for self-reliance. Ideas in regard to the relation between self-reliance and economic co-operation are the previous teachings which China acquired from her 15 years' experience of socialistic construction which met various difficulties and sufferings. These teachings have been expressed in the form of "eight principles" which Prime Minister Chou En-lai stated clearly during his travel for Africa and Asia in 1963 and 64.

(1) Government of China constantly has been giving aid to the countries abroad, basing on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. Government of China never thought such aid as a kind of one sided present, and thinks that aid is always of reciprocal nature and is useful for economic co-operation.

(2) Government of China, when it gives aid to the countries abroad, respects sovereignty of recipient country, and gives no condition and requests no privileged.

(3) Government of China gives economic aid in the form of no interest or low interest loan, and, if it is necessary, postpones the date of paying back and makes the burden of the country receiving aid less.

(4) Aim of Government of China giving aid to the countries abroad is not to make the countries receiving aid rely upon China, but to assist that the countries receiving aid may get ability to walk on the path of self reliance, independence and development in the field of economy.

(5) In regard to items which Government of China gives aid and constructs for the countries receiving aid, principle is as follows:—

Early effects can be attained with investment as small as possible. And the governments of the countries receiving aid can increase the income through them and can accumulate capital.

(6) Government of China offers the best establishments and materials which China can produce, and the prices are decided according to those of the international market. If the establishments and materials offered by Government of China do not coincide with the scales and qualities contracted, Government of China asks these things to be sent back or guarantees to exchange them.

(7) Government of China, when it given technical aid to countries abroad, guarantees to make the members of the countries receiving aid master the technique fully.

(8) The experts whom Government of China sends out to assist the construction of the country receiving aid receive the same material treatment as the experts of the country receiving aid, and no special request nor special treatment is permitted.

The foundation of these eight principles is that, when the newly emerging nation tries to construct her own independent national economy, the best way is “self-reliance”, and that economic aid from foreign country is, after all, only a subordinate part.

If one concludes from this way of thinking that China claims autarchy or China denies the international division of work, it would be a grave mistake. We are not discussing the old production pattern of pre-capitalistic period. After the establishment of capitalist economy, there cannot be national economy without foreign trade. What China tries to emphasize is that the foundation of national economic construction should be based upon the inner territorial market through “self-reliance”, at any cost, and that, if this basic direction is taken, the foreign trade would never decrease but rather increase by the development of productive power of national economy. On the contrary, if “self-reliance” is neglected and the nation relies upon foreign aid, what kind of condition would be resulted? Under the old colonial rule, what was left for old colonies as the result of so-called “free trade” is only a little industry producing the raw materials

necessary for the suzerain country, and these colonies became the imbalanced so-called mono-culture lands. Examples are seen in tin and rubber of Malaya. Contrary to this, self-reliance makes the well balanced development of industry and agriculture possible.

When we reflect upon the history of political economy, we can find that national economy occupied the centre of ideas of Adam Smith, and on the basis of national economy the economic development was thought. As is widely known, Adam Smith supported free trade, but the free trade which he supported was that which is based upon the development of national economy, and contained no dilemma with so-called self-reliance of today.

We may safely say that it was after David Ricardo that the opinion of free trade came to be in dilemma with self-reliance. Ricardo's famous theory of comparative producing cost is summarised as follows:—

When the free trade policy is taken, each country would find the course in specialization in such sectors as of comparatively high productivity, therefore of cheap comparative producing cost. So, productivity, as a whole, would become high, the social production would increase and in the end the net income of each individual would increase.

But, the real result which was brought about by the free trade based upon such theory of comparative producing cost was only misery seen in above-mentioned case of Malaya. It is because this kind of free trade means only the international division of work without national economy—inner territorial market; viz., if we take the Chinese way of expression, it is the international division of work neglecting “self-reliance”. In the side of Marxist economics, since the socialist world market has been established as the result of the Second World War and the trade and other economic co-operation has been started within the socialist countries, the relation between the socialistic economic construction inside the country and the socialistic international division of work began to be discussed theoretically. Chinese way of thinking, that “self-reliance” is the basis and international co-operation can work as the subordinate factor, is based upon the fundamental standpoint of Marxism.

Nevertheless, even among the articles from socialist countries, some opinions can be seen that step out of this fundamental standpoint. For example there is such an article although it takes up theory of comparative producing cost of Ricardo and criticises it, forgets existence of national economy and emphasises only the effects of international division of work caused by the gap of comparative producing costs.

Yet this cannot be real criticism of Ricardo, but a drop into the pit of circulation theory. Again, there is an article treating the world market, which neglects the social and economic contents of each national economy which constitutes the world market and claims the unconditional integral nature of the world market. This comes from idea of "one world market", and such a view also ought to be called circulation theory, being remote from fundamental principle of Marxism.

The principle that construction of each nation's economy should be based upon "self-reliance" does never deny, as I mentioned before, the trade and other international co-operation. Even between the countries of different social systems, the trade and other international co-operation is possible and advantageous. But in that case, the conditions are necessary, and Bandung principles and eight principles which China recently published are exactly the conditions. For the purpose that each country trading may get advantage from the trade, the fundamental principles of equality, mutual profit and no-intervention in the domestic affairs free trade should be respected.

The actual results brought about by the unlimited free trade held by Ricardo's theory were stablization of industrial countries and agricultural countries, and the unequal relations. The trade based on such unequal relations gives advantage only to the industrial countries and is against the principle of mutual profit. Moreover, the industrial countries often try to prevent industrialization of agricultural countries for the sake of their own advantage, breaking the fundamental principle of no intervention in domestic affairs.

## **V. Trade Relation between Japan and China**

Although the countries situated in Asia and Africa have different social and economic systems, if the above mentioned fundamental principles of equality, mutual profit and no-intervention in the domestic affairs are respected, can enlarge their trade and enjoy advantage thereof. As its example I would like to observe the recent trade relations between Japan and China. Japan is a high-developed capitalistic country and China is socialistic country, so social and economic systems are different. But it was not due to the difference of social and economic systems that the development of Japan-China trade was prevented after the Second World War. It was because political situations of the world prevented the establishment of friendly relations which were based on equality, mutual profit and no-intervention of the domestic affairs.

Nevertheless, the friendly relations began to be restored gradually mainly due to earnest desire of peoples of both the countries. Accompanying this, trade also began to increase.<sup>7</sup> Since May 1958 Japan-China trade was in the interrupted status, but after the turning point of August 1960 when "Three Fundamental Principles Regarding Trade with Japan" was published from China, individual civil contracts and transactions began to be entered into. After Chinese Export Commodities Fair (in Guan Zhou) of April 1961 and October 1961, the amount of trade between Japan and China started to increase at the rate of \$138 million in 1960, \$ 48 million in 1961, \$ 85 million in 1962, \$ 138 million in 1963, giving expectation of \$ 200 million in 1964.

I would like to give a picture of commodity construction of export and import of Japan-China trade, taking the year of 1962. In regard to export mainly such commodities as textiles (artificial fibres etc.), chemical goods (urea etc.) metals and machinery etc. showed remarkable increase as compared with the year before. Regarding import, although pig-iron decreased due to economic condition in Japan, the raw materials and fuel—soya bean, salt and high caloric coling coal—which occupy more than 60% of total import amount are the basic commodities and show big increase.

Structure of Import and Export Goods between Japan and China  
(in 1962)

\$1000

Export		Import	
grand total	38,460	grand total	46,020
foods	6	foods	8,297
raw materials and fuel	340	raw materials	27,545
textiles	14,203	mineral fuel	2,485
non-metalic mine product	7	chemical goods	1,061
chemical goods	8,852	others	6,632
metals	11,150		
machinery	1,606		
others	2,296		

So called L T trade entered into by the agreement between Mr. Liao Cheng-Chih of China and late Mr. Tatsunosuke Takasaki expected the amount of 500 million dollars during five years, but in this year (second year in the agreement) we have to face necessity of big-scale adjustment.

7. Japan Ministry of Industry and Commerce: White Paper, 1963, p. 589.

And what is the way for the further development of Japan-China trade? I would like to allude to it, taking this chance. According to the opinions talked among a part of Japanese economic circle, there is a lot of commodities which can be exported from Japan to China, but there are less collateral goods to be imported from China, thus difficulty to take balance of export and import prevent us from enlarging Japan-China trade. They say:—In pre-war period Japan used to import vast amount of such goods as iron-ore, coal, soya beans and salt etc. and they are surely advantageous regarding freight rates etc. But, nowadays, there are problems regarding their quality, and when we take quality into consideration their prices cannot always be said to be cheap.

The reason for it is variously discussed. In my opinion it may be counted as one of the important factors that a long-term trade agreement has not yet been entered into. It can be naturally thought that because of this defect China may find it difficult to carry out plant investment and quality improvement. Apart from such technical points, generally the socialist countries are based on planned economy, which needs long-term agreement on trade. When one country tries to recognize and respect the stand-point of the other country, it would be natural that Japan has to respond to the request for long-term trade agreement. And it coincides with Japanese interest, too.

The main reason why Japan has been hesitating in having long-term trade agreement with China should be attributed, it is a sorry fact, to unfriendly behaviour pursued by Japanese Government toward China. But the situation is gradually beginning to show signs of improvement. As the result of visit to China by Mastsumura Mission in this year a perspective to establish liaison offices in Tokyo and Peking respectively began to open, exchange of pressmen also reached mutual understanding and the problems of mutual extension of air lines are, too, to be negotiated further. The third year agreement of L T trade is to be entered into and signed in September this year at Tokyo and as for the export of fertilizer and import of iron-ore and coal also possibly to have long-term agreement is becoming stronger. Therefore we may be able to say safely that earnest hope of Japanese people to extend economic co-operative relations with Afro-Asian Countries on the basis of Bandung principles is gaining gradually larger influence and changing policy of Japan.

## **V. Trading Relations between Japan and Africa**

According to the white paper issued from Government of Japan, trade between Japan and Africa in 1962 showed the figure of 335 million



dollars, of export decrease by 12% in comparison with the year before, and 218 million dollars of import, increase of 15%. Decrease of export is due to the fact that ships to be sent to Liberia decreased from 96 million dollars of the year before to 48 million dollars in 1962, decrease by 61% of the year before.

In regard to export excepting ships to Liberia, the figure continues to maintain the standards as the years before, viz. 2·87 million dollars. Speaking of the export commodities respectively, the textiles still show the absolute figure, but it decreased by 2·6% in comparison with the year before. Even if we take special situation of 1962 into consideration, still this tendency seems to show the direction of Japan-Africa trade of future. On the other hand, machinery show the increase of 48% being supported by the development of export of electric machinery and motor-cars. As this result the amount of machinery exported to Africa has increased from 8·5% of the year before to 13%. Other than this, metallic goods increased by 11% the center of which is steel. Therefore we may safely say that Japanese trade with Africa, just like that with Asia, gradually changing its pattern from the goods of light industry centering around the textiles to the products of heavy-chemical industry. This may, according to my private opinion, be due to the fact that African newly emerging countries also are trying to carry out industrialization in order to construct independent national economy and as its result the demands for the goods of heavy-chemical industry are increasing.

As for import, the foods like Indian corn and cocoa beans increased by 89%, and among the metallic raw materials the iron and steel-scrap increased considerably. Other than these phosphate ore, pig-iron, compound metal of copper and various kinds of oil seed etc. showed increase respectively. In this structure of import commodities, still most part is occupied by the primitive products like foods and raw materials etc. In my private opinion, such situation may receive changes according to the development of industrialisation in newly emerging countries, so it should not be understood as of permanent nature. Therefore, in my private opinion, it is rather the way to expound Japanese export to co-operate positively for the industrialisation of newly emerging countries. And I recognize this possibility in the fact that the present day structure of export goods of my country is shifting its weight to the goods of heavy-chemical industry.

In regard to the structure of export markets, Republic of South Africa, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, East Africa of ex-British

colonies, Morocco and Congo show increase, and Sudan, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone show more or less constant figure, and Egypt, Nigeria, Ghana and Liberia show decrease. Four countries lead the list in receiving export from Japan to Africa (excepting ships for Liberia). Republic of South Africa 21% (17% in 1961), East Africa of ex-British colonies 15% (13%). So both the countries show increase as compared to the year before. While, Nigeria is 6.5% (9.3%), Ghana is 6.5% (9.3%)—each showed decreased.

In this list of structure of import market, ex-British Africa 11%, Sudan 6%, Ghana 6% and Republic of South Africa 4%. It would be a matter of discussion that the countries of ex-British colonies show considerable weight regarding export as well as import. Especially the fact that Republic of South Africa occupies the position of first rank in Japanese export to Africa should be read with due attention. Republic of South Africa, as is widely known, is guilty of shameful apartheid. The fact that the export to this country occupies first rank in Japanese export to Africa and that Japanese Government is conniving at the policy of apartheid of South Africa through trade has angered African People. This is clearly against Bandung Principles in regard to economic co-operation. If such policies are not amended, the development of our trade to Africa which has good prospects would have to meet difficulties.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai, together with Vice-Prime cum Minister for External Affairs Chen Yi visited U.A.R., Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia from December '63 to February '64. The reports of the west say "there was no concrete result", but it was in fact "visits to have further friendship, to strengthen unity and to fortify peace"—I would like to quote "People's Daily" of China—therefore even if the concrete result has not been attained at the present moment still without doubt the great concrete result would come out in future.

I say this because of the fact that the above mentioned eight principles regarding economic co-operation was published in the interview with pressmen at Accra, capital of Ghana on 15th January and thereafter came to be contained in the joint-communique with Republic of Mali. When such principles are realized, economic co-operation between China and Africa, especially the trade, is expected big expansion in the near future. The trading relation between China and African countries developed rapidly since 1962 and reached 100 million dollars. At the present moment it is far smaller as compared with Japanese trade to Africa which

surpasses 500 million dollars in total of to and from, but it cannot be thought that this situation could continue unchanged. The situation expected is development of Chinese trade with Africa and recession of Japanese trade to Africa. Japanese policy to bring about the development of trade with Africa would be only to practice Bandung Principles, and trade with China and other Afro-Asian countries. Therefore, as far as seen from economic point of view, there is enough possibility of co-operation.

## **PYONGYANG DECLARATION OF THE ASIAN ECONOMIC SEMINAR ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ECONOMY BY RELYING ON ONE'S OWN EFFORTS**

The Asian Economic Seminar was held from June 16 to 23, 1964, in Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Conference was attended by delegates and friends from 34 countries and territories—Algeria, Angola, Australia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Cameroon, Ceylon, China, The Congo (Brazzaville), The Congo (Leopoldville), Gambia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Korea, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, North Kalimantan, Palestine, Rwanda, Somalia, South West Africa, The Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Uganda, The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, South Vietnam and Zanzibar.

In accordance with proceeding from the age-old aspiration and common desire of the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries for winning national liberation and building free, prosperous and independent states, opposing imperialism and colonialism, we the participants of this seminar declare:

Today the furious storm of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolution is sweeping the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The national liberation movement in colonies, a mighty revolutionary force of our time, is accelerating the final rout of imperialism and making great contribution to the common cause of the world people for peace and social progress.

Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have undergone radical changes today. In these regions a number of socialist countries and newborn independent nations have emerged, and the peoples of many countries who have won national independence through protracted, arduous and heroic struggles are attaining enormous results in building a new life.

However, the colonial system has not been liquidated completely.

The imperialists are unwilling to step out of the colonial and dependent countries. They are trying to impose the yoke of neo-colonialism upon the peoples of the newborn independent countries.

The nature of imperialism has not changed and its aggressive methods are becoming more and more vicious.

The imperialists, the U.S. imperialists in particular, are working hard to subjugate the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America by all crafty means along with undisguised aggression.

While intensifying their political and military control, the imperialists are using "aid" as a major instrument for their aggression against the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Through "aid" they attempt to seize the economic life lines of the countries in these regions, plunder a fabulous amount of wealth and, furthermore, encroach upon their political independence. This is a typical form of neo-colonialism. We must be strictly vigilant against the imperialists and neo-colonialists using the United Nations and other international institutions for this purpose.

It is an act of hampering the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle and arresting the great advance of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to spread an illusion about imperialism and induce them to pin their hopes on its "benevolence".

A number of Asian, African and Latin American countries which have reached a new stage in the development of their history are now faced with the task of fighting resolutely against old and new colonialism and building an independent national economy relying on their own efforts.

The achievement of political independence is only the first step towards the ultimate victory of the national-liberation revolution. The building of an independent national economy is one of the consecutive revolutionary tasks in the consummation of the national-liberation revolution.

The independent economic construction constitutes a firm guarantee for the consolidation of the political independence these countries have already won.

This enables these countries to do away with the economic one-sidedness and backwardness left over by the imperialist colonial rule and become rich, powerful independent states with modern sciences, technology and culture.

The construction of an independent national economy will also strengthen the economic might of the Asian African and Latin American countries and radically change the features of the world economy.

To oppose the construction of an independent national economy is, in the final analysis, an act of keeping the economically backward nations within the old framework of one-sided colonial economy and of hampering the independent states from achieving independent development and prosperity.

Because of the socio-economic conditions left over by the imperialist, colonial rule, it presents itself as an important question in independent economic construction for the newly-independent nations to oppose imperialism and transform the pre-capitalist production relations into democratic ones in conformity with the concrete conditions of each country.

A correct solution of the land problem in these countries opens the way of solving the urgent problem of food, developing the rural economy in a diversified way and opens a new way for economic development.

In order to achieve economic independence of the country, the economic foothold of the imperialists and comprador capitalists who are in league with the former must be forfeited. Only when their enterprises are nationalized so as to make them serve the interests of the whole nation, is it possible to develop the national economy rapidly.

For the independent economic construction it is indispensable to take the path of industrialization, develop national culture and train one's own national technical cadres.

The countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are endowed with inexhaustible natural resources, and are inhabited by two-thirds of the world's population. The peoples of the countries in these regions are industrious and talented.

In building independent economy, each country should rely first of all on the inexhaustible creative energy of its own people, and should mobilize and utilize its own latent reserves to a maximum.

If we mobilize these material and human resources properly, we can overcome all difficulties and accomplish creditably the historic task of building an independent national economy.

Since the concrete conditions of economic development in the Asian, African and Latin American countries are varied, there may arise certain differences in the lines and ways of building an independent national economy in each country.

Each country should solve by itself all problems of independent economic construction in conformity with its actual situation.

Independent national economy has nothing to do either with "closed economy" or "isolated economy".

The construction of an independent national economy by relying on one's own efforts does not exclude economic co-operation among nations, but rather it promotes their mutual support and co-operation.

Only when we build an independent national economy, can we also develop the relations of co-operation with other countries on a sound basis and, when given genuine aid from outside, use it effectively.

It is against the principles of economic co-operation that one stresses the "genuine co-operation" or "aid" by words alone but in fact uses it as a means of imposing the erroneous policy or as a bait for realizing its unilateral, narrow-minded economic interests alone.

Economic co-operation and mutual assistance must be based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and they must be effective technically and economically.

The peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries should closely co-operate and assist each other, frustrating the machinations of imperialism to hamper the development of trade relations between their countries.

The socialist countries in these regions have accumulated certain experiences in and laid the foundations for the construction of a new society and an independent national economy. And many countries have registered valuable achievements in the struggle for the independent development of their countries since they won political independence.

The countries in these regions are endowed with rich natural resources and favourable natural and economic conditions. Exchanging useful experiences, strengthening economic co-operation and filling each other's needs will greatly conduce to the construction of an independent economy and enable us to counter imperialist aggression successfully. Economic relations between the newborn independent countries, we consider, should be developed and extended through various forms and methods such as conclusion of long-term trade agreements, introduction of reciprocal terms of trade, stabilization of the prices of export goods, establishment of preferential tariff, extension of scientific and technical intercourse, etc.

The people of Asian, African and Latin American countries will further consolidate their mutual co-operation and solidarity, repulsing the splitting and subversive machinations of imperialism and its lackeys. When we fight in firm unity, we will eventually smash imperialism and colonialism.

The present conference calls upon the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries to further intensify their struggle to accomplish the revolutionary tasks of frustrating the policy of aggression and enslavement of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism and achieving social progress, uniting more closely, holding high the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and national-liberation.

## **RESOLUTIONS OF THE ASIAN ECONOMIC SEMINAR**

The Asian Economic Seminar held in Pyongyang, earnestly discussed and approved the four basic reports and the general conclusions which reflect the main points of the reports of the African participants on the questions of realizing firm unity, mutual support and close co-operation among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the struggle for national liberation and independence, and the construction of independent national economies, while opposing imperialism and colonialism, old and new.

The Seminar gives an affirmative appreciation to the work done by the Permanent Bureau of the Committee since the First Asian Economic Seminar held in Colombo.

Great revolutionary changes are taking place today in the life of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

A great number of people have won national independence and the flames of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist revolutionary struggle is flaring up more fiercely in these regions.

The imperialists' policies of aggression and war are sustaining serious setbacks everywhere under the impact of the powerful national-liberation struggle of the peoples of these regions.

However, the imperialists who cannot subsist even a single day without aggression and plunder are resorting to ever more malicious, subtle methods in a desperate attempt to save themselves from their imminent doom.



The imperialists still keep a large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries in colonial bondage of all forms and are imposing untold misfortunes and sufferings upon the peoples of these countries.

Imperialism is the root cause of all the misfortunes and tribulations of the countless peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America today. We consider, therefore, that without waging an unremitting struggle against the U.S.-led imperialists, national-liberation and independence and the independent development of country cannot be expected, nor can the afflictions of the peoples of these regions be removed.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America should not entertain any illusion about imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, but should continue to wage relentless struggles in order to liquidate the accursed colonial system at the earliest possible date.

We consider that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America should fight undauntedly for winning national independence, firmly taking their positions shoulder to shoulder on the common front of the anti-imperialist struggle, and for building powerful, independent national economies, displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and surmounting all difficulties on the way.

The community of our circumstances and oneness of our goal demand the peoples of these regions to firmly unite, mutually support and closely co-operate with each other for victory in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, old and new.

Unity is our mighty weapon and a guarantee of our ultimate victory.

Today the imperialists who fear more than anything else the unity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are obstinately trying to create dissension and discord between the peoples of these areas and pit them against each other. We consider that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America should maintain revolutionary vigilance and make every effort to smash thoroughly the imperialist manoeuvres which seek to divide us and strengthen unity and mutual co-operation.

We are firmly convinced that this Seminar will make a great contribution to the further consolidation of friendship and unity among the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and their mutual support and co-operation in the political, economic, cultural and all other spheres in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for national-liberation, independence and social progress.

We consider that this Seminar would make an affirmative contribution to the future Afro-Asian Economic Seminar.

The Seminar warmly welcomes the Second Afro-Asian Conference to be convened on the basis of the Bandung spirit of opposing imperialism and colonialism in all its forms and strengthening unity and mutual co-operation, and entrust the Committee to send its observer to this Conference.

We express our firm stand of sparing nothing in our power to support and encourage the people who are fighting for freedom, peace, national independence and social progress, resolutely opposing all forms of aggression, plunder, interference and subversive machinations of the imperialists and colonialists led by U.S. imperialism.

The Seminar fervently supports the South Vietnamese people who, rallied under the banner of the South Vietnam National-Liberation Front, are fighting against U.S. imperialism to achieve national-liberation, democracy, peace, neutrality and national reunification.

We strongly demand the U.S. imperialists to stop the aggressive war against the South Vietnamese people and correctly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements, and resolutely denounce all the attempts of the U.S. to extend the war to North Vietnam.

The Seminar strongly condemns the aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists in Laos. It also warmly supports the struggle of the Laotian people for the correct implementation of the Zurich and Plain of Jars Agreements and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, for the defence of the tripartite coalition government and peace, neutrality and the national independence of Laos, and for the early convocation of a fourteen-nation conference on Laos.

The Seminar supports the struggle of the Indonesian people to shatter the "Malaysia" project, an aggressive instrument of neo-colonialism framed up by the British imperialists with the backing of U.S. imperialism, and to safeguard freedom and independence, and extends fervent congratulations to the anti-Malaysian volunteers.

The Seminar supports the just struggle of the North Kalimantan people for national-liberation and self-determination, and appeals to the governments and peoples of all countries of the world to recognize the state of North Kalimantan which proclaimed complete independence, to strengthen the struggle for checking the scheme of the British colonialists to impose "Malaysia" upon the North Kalimantan people, and to urge the British and other colonialists to withdraw their troops from there.

The Seminar supports the struggle of the Cambodian people for opposing the subversive schemes of U.S. imperialism and for the independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of their country, and backs the just struggle of the Ceylonese people against the interference of the U.S. imperialists in their internal affairs and for the independent development of their country.

The Seminar actively supports the fight of the Korean people against U.S. imperialism and for the achievement of the unification of their country by themselves, and strongly demands the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces from south of Korea.

The Seminar expresses solidarity with the Japanese people in their struggle against the U.S. military bases and the resurgence of Japanese militarism and for the restoration of Okinawa to Japan, for peace and democracy and for the complete independence and neutrality of their country. At the same time, it resolutely condemns the criminal machinations of the U.S. imperialists who, having instigated the Japanese reactionary circles and the South Korean puppet clique to hold the "South Korea-Japan Talks", are trying to frame up the aggressive "North East Asia Military Alliance" gravely menacing peace and security in Asia and the Far East and to obstruct the unification of Korea.

The Seminar strongly denounces the U.S. imperialists for occupying Taiwan, an inalienable territory of the People's Republic of China, and incessantly carrying out provocations against the Chinese people.

The Seminar resolutely denounces U.S. imperialism which is engrossed in ever more naked manoeuvres for aggression and war, deploying nuclear submarines and nuclear fighter-bombers and various other nuclear weapons in the Pacific, west coastal and South East Asian regions and extending the scope of operations of the U.S. 7th fleet.

The Seminar expresses firm solidarity with the Congolese people who are bravely fighting with arms in their hands for the complete independence of their country against the U.S. imperialists who are pursuing the neo-colonialist policy in the Congo under the signboard of the U.N. and against their puppet clique.

The Seminar warmly congratulates the Algerian people who have won their national independence through the protracted, arduous armed struggle against the imperialists and are building a new life, and the peoples of Mali, Ghana, U.A.R., Guinea, Zanzibar and other newly

independent countries who are working hard to consolidate their national independence and achieve the independent development of their countries.

The Seminar expresses ardent, militant solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique who are waging a sanguinary struggle with arms in their hands resolutely against the aggressive, predatory policy of the Portuguese colonialists and for freedom, national-liberation and independence.

The Seminar categorically condemns the apartheid practised in the Republic of South Africa, strongly demands the immediate release of the patriots and political offenders under illegal detention, and appeals to all countries to refrain from political and economic relations with the Republic of South Africa.

The Seminar expresses firm solidarity with the peoples of Cameroon, South West Africa, Gambia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Basutoland, Swaziland, Nyasaland and Bechuanaland who are fighting for the complete independence and freedom of the country and against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

We express support in the aspirations of the Somali people.

It is the most pertinent way of solving problems existing among the African countries to grant all peoples the right to self-determination in accordance with the spirit of the Addis Ababa Charter.

The Organisation of African Unity is the sole organisation capable of finding a common language in problems arising in many brother countries of Africa. This Seminar sincerely hopes that the Organisation of African Unity will take this principle into consideration.

The Seminar condemns the Western imperialists for having framed up Israel and using it as an instrument of achieving their aggressive aim. Israel constitutes a base of aggression against the Arab world, a base of aggression the real object of which is to foil the efforts of the Arab world to liberate itself from the domination of international monopolists. The Seminar gives its firm and entire support to the Arab people of Palestine in their fight for the restoration of the Arab fatherland of Palestine.

The Seminar supports actively the heroic struggle of the Cuban people who are resolutely fighting against the incessant aggressive manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism and for safeguarding the revolutionary gains, and strongly condemns the criminal U.S. provocations against Cuba.

The Seminar expresses militant solidarity with the peoples of Latin America who are fighting against U.S. imperialism and for national-liberation and political and economic independence.

The Seminar strongly urges the liquidation of all kinds of aggressive military blocs and bilateral military treaties such as SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS and NATO as well as military bases set up by the U.S. imperialists with a view to suppressing by force the national-liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, trampling upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries in these regions and realizing their sinister aggressive designs, and strongly demands the immediate withdrawal of the imperialist aggressive troops from these regions.

We express our firm determination to continue our stubborn struggle against the policy of war and aggression of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism and for a durable world peace in close unity with the peace-loving people and world over.

## KAYIHURA MICHEL (Rwanda)

I have the honor at this historic moment of addressing a few words to the present meeting of the Asian Economic Seminar. It is often said that great joys are silent, so I am going to be brief. The success of the Seminar is so evident in itself that I need not make a long speech. The credit of the success must go to the Bureau that organised the Seminar, to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the host country, and to all the participants.

On behalf of all the African brothers, I wish to pay homage to Mme. Gunawardhana, Chairman of the Bureau of the Asian Economic Seminar, for having so well organised the present Seminar and for having invited the delegates of African countries. Thanks to you, Madame, the debates of the Seminar have been held in a friendly spirit of understanding and frank collaboration.

We express profound thanks to the Korean people and government for their warm hospitality accorded us in this country of heroes.

We greet with admiration the heroic people of Korea who, under the brilliant leadership of their Workers' Party and Government headed by their outstanding leader Premier Kim Il Sung, have achieved brilliant victories over imperialism.

For us all who are fighting against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, these victories are an invaluable encouragement. The spectacular achievements of Korea in the domain of building an independent national economy offer us a splendid example of assiduous work and good political and economic orientation.

The present Seminar blazes a brilliant trail in the history of the Asian and African peoples. It enables all the participants to understand the difficult economic problems our countries are confronted with, to see in relief the danger of imperialism and neo-colonialism that are out for keeping Asia and Africa in an increasing economic dependence, to perceive the methods of struggle against these enemies, to build an independent national economy and to establish a beneficial co-operation among the Afro-Asian countries and to promote the trade relations.

In a word, this Seminar has been a good redistributor of energy for the common struggle and allows fruitful exchanges of views.

Friends,

A revolutionary era has been opened up before our peoples, and it is incumbent on us to determine the course of advance and regulate its stages with the resolutions of this Seminar as the basic principles. This will decide the future of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We must liquidate colonialism and neo-colonialism, forcing imperialism to retreat.

This sublime object can be attained only through greater solidarity among the Asian, African and Latin American peoples—fraternal solidarity and co-operation without conditions which entail the bonds of subjection. And here permit me, fellow delegates, to recall the Eight Principles defined by Premier Chou En-lai which the Chinese government observes in its economic and technical aid to other countries. These principles implicate a doctrine with which other countries should be guided in giving aid to fraternal countries.

We profoundly thank the Government of the People's Republic of China for having mapped out this just line of sound economic co-operation.

In conclusion I repeat my gratitude to the people and government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for all their efforts for the successes of the Seminar and their hospitable welcome. I can say without exaggeration: "We feel at home". We desire that South Korea will be liberated from the fetters of imperialism and, after Pyongyang, we meet in the capital of a unified Korea.

Let us all remain united in the common struggle against the common enemy, the exploiting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Let us march forward for the building of our countries in the framework of an independent national economy and a close economic co-operation.

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

Long live the forces of peace and progress in the world!

## **KWESI-GHAPSON (Ghana)**

Chairman,

Distinguished guests and fellow participants,

Today marks the end of this all important seminar held in this beautiful, serene but unconquerable city of Pyongyang, the vanguard of self-determination and self-reliance.

At a time like this it is natural that some of us from Africa should on behalf of the African delegates thank the sponsors of this Asian Economic Seminar and the people of Korea who make it a success.

It is in this capacity that I stand before you this afternoon.

It is just over a week since we assembled in this great hall. But to me it seems a year. The reason is that within this short span of time all the problems plaguing our great sister continents as a result of imperialism and neo-colonialism, old and new, shamefully led by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have been clearly unfolded before us through the profound discussions we have heard.

Also how this diabolical system plague lasted has been revealed to us and also have been shown the ways and means of defeating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism once and for all.

Therefore, the tasks ahead are as follows:

For the countries already politically independent this seminar has revealed that these countries cannot be really independent unless and until they are economically independent. In this field the Korean People's great success is a monumental example.

To the revolutionaries fighting to liberate their countries from the yoke of colonialism this seminar has clearly demonstrated its support morally, materially and spiritually.

Above all, the seminar has revealed also that there can be no progress in this world unless and until the unification of Korea, Vietnam and all other parts of the world, which have been divided through the aggressive American imperialism and colonialism in all forms, becomes a reality.



We are confident that the examples of the great People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, of Cuba, Algeria and others will continue to inspire all progressive forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America to unleash a final blow to imperialism led by U.S. imperialism.

However, we are reminded that we cannot achieve our objectives without maximum co-operation, self-reliance and independent national economy.

We now take this opportunity to convey our heartfelt sense of gratitude to the organizers, especially Mrs. Theja Gunawardhana for the unique arrangements which have made the seminar a great success.

We are also very thankful to our Korean hosts who have made our stay a most enjoyable one.

This has been shown through their politeness, patience, friendship, care and, above all, their hospitality.

We, therefore, thank the great Workers' Party under the dynamic and courageous leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung.

Finally, we appreciate the services rendered by the cooks, the drivers, the interpreters and the guides, without whose respective roles the seminar might not have succeeded as expected.

Indeed, in this land of Korea we can say we have had a glimpse into the future.

It is in this spirit of friendship and co-operation between Africa and Asia that I present this humble gift to the Asian Economic Seminar Bureau through Mrs. Theja Gunawardhana.

To our Korean delegation, too, we present this small gift through the head of the Korean delegation.

Let us go forward together, united as one man and determined to crush once and for all the forces of imperialism and colonialism, old and new.

Down with imperialism and neo-colonialism!

Forward to socialism based on self-reliance and national economy!

Long live the Asian Economic Seminar!

Long live Comrade Kim Il Sung and the great people of Korea!

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

## CONCLUDING ADDRESS

By **THEJA GUNAWARDHANA**  
(*Chairman, Asian Economic Bureau*)

Dear Leaders of the Heroes of Chullima,  
Heroes of Chullima,  
Comrades in a common cause:

I open the concluding address with the words of hope Rwanda expressed here: "Every meeting of Afro-Asians gives us reason for hope. It is a rally of forces".

How true!

Bandung in 1955 first gave momentum to the Afro-Asian people's solidarity movement, when 29 nations of independent Afro-Asian representing 1,600 million reflecting the voice and aspirations of mankind met after centuries of isolation to proclaim the solidarity in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and for complete national independence. They made collective history as enshrined in the Bandung Principles giving a new spiritual basis for international relations. Since 1955 over 80 new nations have emerged in Afro-Asia determined to oppose our common enemies. This is the irresistible and inevitable trend of history.

Since economic independence is the continuing, necessary vital consolidation of political independence, we have organized this Seminar in order to study the right and true relationship between the economic and political spheres. In our deliberations, we have unanimously agreed that independent national economy (which does not connote exclusion of the concept of international co-operation with friendly countries) must be built in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance to strengthen the continuing struggle for complete independence against our enemy and to consolidate political independence. This is not an ordinary task. This is a revolutionary task. The solution to our problems will be relative to our own specific situations, background and conditions.

As Angola said "Revolution responds to a primordial necessity and imperialism will retrace not in the name of justice but by the driving power of revolution". Revolution, dear friends, can take many forms—both

convulsive and otherwise but one form that it never takes is maintaining the *status quo*. It means building a new structure. As Fidel Castro (who has given momentum to the Latin America revolution through the Cuban revolution), said, "If the old foundation does not fit the new structure we tear down the foundation and build it anew". And he added, "Revolution by its inherent nature generates counter-revolution and unless met resolutely and crushed, it can reverse the revolutionary process". Cuba has dealt a mortal blow to the U.S. imperialist monopoly empire of Latin America and continues to defeat counter revolution. If we are to face counter revolution which is the combined work of imperialists, local reactionaries and pro-imperialists we have to build an impregnable fortress on a mass basis. Nothing can exist for long nor develop without a mass basis. The masses in their turn always support a just and right policy. Having generally tested the bitter fruits of injustice and oppression they recognize the truth and the light in their darkness and are ready to die for it. If we study the history of socialist countries, the history of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, we see, that besides the leaders and the intellectuals who guide the revolution, the number of heroes among the masses particularly peasants and workers was legion. They out of their poverty stricken nothingness gave of their plenitude, by giving their very lives—the highest man can lay down for another. Hence the greatest wealth of a country is her people. Hence also the conclusion that the unflagging, indomitable mass struggle of *workers and peasants* is an integral part of the struggle against imperialism. As Australia stated, the strength of a strong international trade union brotherhood is a key weapon against monopoly, and vigilance must be maintained against conciliation, capitulation and reformism poisoning its leadership.

No real revolutionary, ever halts the continuous process. Revolutionaries are forced to take the path of revolution for the cause of their motherland and for all mankind. Many die without seeing the fruits of their sacrifices and sufferings. And nothing will ever prevent the true revolutionary from helping another behind the cowardly plea for peaceful co-existence for that is a revolutionary duty and also a privilege. Let that be one of the lessons and one of the assurances we take away from this Seminar. This is a rally of the revolutionary and rising forces to accomplish our revolutionary tasks, enriched with the mutual sharing of experiences and immeasurably strengthened and inspired by assurances of unfailing support of those steeled in the process after long years of suffering and struggle. Here we would like to stress that the epical Algerian revolution, the Malian revolution now on the correct economic path, the betrayed,

retarded and convulsive Congo revolution (that has ripped the veil of illusion regarding imperialists and pro-imperialists), Ghana, Zanzibar and Tanganyika Union will be among the bases for the consolidation of the African revolution and therefore of the Asian revolution. We in Asia sorrow over the brutalities going on in Africa and rejoice over her triumphs just as if they were our own. When great leaders like Jomo Kenyatta and other Kenyan leaders, victims of the South African trials, and those of the Rhodesias came out of the world of prison walls after long-terms of imprisonment, we in Asia rejoiced and celebrated the events. When Babu came into his own in Zanzibar, we rejoiced. When we listened to the report of the struggles in Rwanda, Cameroons, S.W. Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Mozambique, Angola, Congo and Niger at this Seminar, we felt your calls for solidarity should be thundering in our ears so that we intensify our efforts for a common cause. And we know similarly Africa salutes the great Asian revolutions. We know the cause of the heroic struggling peoples of South Vietnam, South Korea and Laos, and of North Kalimantan will be made your cause on a people's governmental and international level so that their triumph will be hastened with the reunification with the fatherland of South Korea and South Vietnam. We hope other newly developing African Republics will avoid the economic pitfalls and march ahead. We shall salute Gambia in advance here today, and congratulate Somalia on its people's victories at the recent elections.

Our Seminar was inspired to hear such words from Niger: "Our party which has faced 5 years of repression will only grow in strength", also these words from Cameroon which has just lost another leader Abel Kingue, "Dear friends to us fighters still living, there is only one way of honouring worthily the memory of our heroes—that is to continue their struggle for humanity for which they gave of their best by lifting still higher the banner of our Revolution".

Hope lives on with the people.

Indeed, dear friends, this Seminar has assured you that you are not alone: We stand united for an ensured bright future for which we carry on the struggle.

Indeed those of you who are here today will be great statesmen of the morrow and if the knowledge gained from this Seminar can guide you while applying its key theories to the African and Asian reality in your tasks of accomplishing the historical destinies of your countries, we shall feel our efforts have not been in vain. We must make a clean

sweep of the aftermath of imperialism and colonialism, and guard against neo-colonialism. United we can do it. This is one way we can help socialism to consolidate itself still further. This is why the mass struggle of Japan is so precious to us.

We shall equally despise those who by progressive degradation betray these revolutions since every victory hastens the end of the enemy while every betrayal and weak link lengthens its survival. And here we must say that while the enemy was hastening to its grave, the pro-imperialists have bolstered them up for a little longer and taken up their place as comrades with U.S. imperialism.

But this Seminar pervaded by the triumphant spirit of Chullima and the immortal spirit of Lumumba knows now its own destiny, having analyzed who are our enemies, old and new, and the right road we must take. And if some delegates have given frank expression about our new enemies it was done not in a spirit of entering into ideological controversy, since the fundamental differences are not merely theoretical but are common and linked to our destinies in a fundamental way. We here may believe in different systems and hold different ideologies but we are all anti-imperialist. Sometimes one has to establish correct thinking and the necessary words must be spoken whatever the cost-words that ensure man's heritage and expose the force that tries to collude with imperialism, split our unity and retard the inevitable historical process:

“What are the main tasks facing us”?

(a) Snap the links of imperialist monopoly policy interlinked with military and political policies by closing our doors against exploitative foreign investments and monopolies that all peoples in economic struggle together can so surely defeat.

(b) Close the door against alignment of imperialist and pro-imperialist forces from without linking with reactionary forces within by developing faith in our own potentialities and our intensifying mass political consciousness. This connotes explaining the erroneous policies peddled about by imperialists and pro-imperialists, fighting against decadent and degenerate cultural, political and economic ideologies: We have learnt at this Seminar that foreign conditioned aid cannot transform our economic structures, cannot reduce unemployment, monetary de-valuations and import excess which reduce our foreign exchange reserves, cannot (because it does not wish) encourage self-sufficiency in food and basic requirements,

cannot arrest recession in industrial and agricultural production and in short does not promote economic self-generation, a quick rate of economic growth and capital accumulation for the very necessary industrialisation.

(c) Expose the falsity of bourgeois, imperialist and pro-imperialist theories of low productivity being due to lack of capital and lack of capital being due to small capacity to save and that this lack of the last capacity is to be solved by the universal panacea for all ills and poverty-foreign "aid". Let us learn to answer back with scientific analysis that our economic backwardness is an abnormal phenomena due to organized and scientific loot, exploitation and plunder. The profit figures of imperialist investment quoted so extensively in this Seminar are adequate proof. If we do not fight these bourgeois economic theories of imperialists and of the new breed of *laissez-faire* socialists we shall surely progressively degenerate into the decrepitude of neo-colonialist economy. If we learn to fight them we evolve alternatively as the rising forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America. How we become a rising force is by posing the Chullima spirit against neo-colonialism.

And the rising forces of our three continents must needs support all liberation struggles. We have heard enough at this Seminar, to be convinced that the roots of imperialism and colonialism lie deep in the desire for economic exploitation. It is because trade followed the flag that we became raw material appendages of the monopolies. And now our new enemies peddle the treacherous call for peaceful competition with imperialist capital.

The report on Oceania also depicts tentacled monopolist control over the riches of these islands whose cause too must become ours. Isolated from the rest of the world we know little of the heroic struggles and trade union militancy of these islanders. That economic exploitation by the U.S. follows wherever the U.N. flag flies today has also been proved at this Seminar: The U.N. agencies have done their best to promote U.S. looting of the riches of South Korea and South Vietnam to say nothing of the mass butchery perpetrated there. Hence while North Vietnam and North Korea wound up the barbed wires of imperialism it migrated to the Southern parts under cover of the United Nations. But it will not be long before the victory of South Vietnam will be at hand: The South Vietnam fighters have from 1961-64 alone annihilated 252,000 enemy troops. Three quarters of the country have been liberated by the NLF and the students of South Korea have initiated recently mass

offensives against U.S. imperialists. Here one pauses to wonder why only the People's Republics of China, Korea, Vietnam and other progressive countries stood up fearlessly in the defence of South Vietnam, South Korea and Laos, while the much wanted might of the rest of the socialist world has not been enlisted in the sacred cause of defending the socialist brotherhood: So today we have "socialists" who come to the rescue of dying imperialism without any pangs of conscience. We salute Indonesia in her stand against Malaysia.

In passing we may also ask who bought Africa cocoa and sold it at a low price in the world market thus seeking to retard the economic progress of Africa? This was not done by the imperialists.

While saluting all the Middle East Arab revolutions, this Seminar must needs wholeheartedly support the struggle of the Palestine people for their homeland and against Israel the Middle Eastern agent of U.S. imperialism. We have heard how Israel has supplied bombs to the Portuguese imperialists to be used against the heroic Angolan liberation fighters, how she has supplied armaments for brutal suppression of the great South African revolution.

We know that many imperialisms are at work in our three continents but at the head of this group of putrefying maggots that feed and live on humanity is U.S. imperialism. The French imperialists could not have been able to carry on such a long war against Algeria without armaments and bombs supplied by U.S.A. She tries to succeed and supplant all other imperialists with all means at our disposal. She has sought to subvert the Peace Constitution of Japan by her Security Treaty and economically and politically she dictates to Japan. Okinawa is totally occupied, while U.S. war preparations against socialist China, Korea and Vietnam are being daily heightened. Out of over 200 bases in Japan the U.S. has equipped some with atomic weapons. She has organised also a cordon sanitaire of bases and nuclear weapon laden carriers from Indian Ocean bases to the South and Near East on fleets all around the socialist and progressive countries, trying to hold to ransom by nuclear blackmail our national independence movement aided and abetted by the pro-imperialists.

But in the final instance the people, the masses are the final arbitors of the destiny of mankind. Not great powers, not nuclear bombs, not might. We have seen that bravado of the mighty covers with a thin facade

their cowardice. Here in Korea you have an example of how the U.S. was brought to its knees and compelled to sign an armistice at the same place it launched the war in 1950.

Dear friends! Within the next decade if we fulfil and overfulfil our revolutionary tasks in faith, hope and confidence, we can see the evolution of:

(a) Real economic, scientific and technical co-operation on the Bandung principles;

(b) Rational use of our rich resources in the service of our motherland and of humanity;

(c) Independent national economies built by self-reliance and helped by friendly co-operation;

(d) The end of monopoly capital;

(e) The availability of capital through an Afro-Asian Economic Fund;

(f) Afro-Asian shipping lines;

(g) Afro-Asian Banking agencies.

We Afro-Asians must now take the initiative for a great economic counter-offensive against imperialist neo-colonialism and pro-imperialism. We must as Uganda proposed eradicate preference for imperialist goods where its socialist counterparts are available. Let us counterpose "Buy America, Ship America" with Buy Afro-Asia, Ship Afro-Asia and then in our united strength it is we who lay down terms to imperialists.

We have been given new ideologies at this seminar by Korea—the faith in the strength of one's peoples and resources, by China—the new principled ideology of unconditional co-operation based on a high moral code.

The drums of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania are beating their freedom rhythms, shattering illusions, inspiring freedom movements to tear down facades and all the cunningly woven imperialist warps and pro-imperialist wefts. And this Seminar is a revolutionary landmark in the consolidation of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Revolution. We hope it will be an assistance to the future leaders of our countries to hold on to the vision in faith and hope, impregnated with the sure strength of our unity. There is a great conspiracy all around us by enemies old and new. But the great might of our unity can shatter this conspiracy. Afro-Asia has 60% of the world's area and 70% of the world population. United we can conquer imperialism.



We find it difficult to find words to express out thanks and deep gratitude to the happy and lovely people of this beautiful, revolutionary outpost of Asia, to all the interpreters, staff and other Seminar personnel who contributed to our happy stay and Seminar's success. You have silently worked behind the scenes day and night. You have, shall we say, accomplished your revolutionary task well as always, heroes of Chullima. To all fellow delegates who travelled long distances especially to the African and Middle East and Australasia friends whose presence here has enriched our Seminar, we say 'thank you'.

To the leaders of this country headed by Premier Kim Il Sung we say "Long live to the glory of your country"!

Dear friends! We, the representatives of our people, have come from the people and we go back to the people.

We trust and believe that our aims and aspiration will be abundantly fulfilled, we hope the forthcoming 2nd Afro-Asian Conference will also further our common aspiration and this seminar sends this Conference our wholehearted support.

Long live our Pyongyang Seminar!

## CLOSING REMARKS

By NAM CHOU HWA

*(Chairman of the 2nd Asian Economic Seminar)*

Dear fellow delegates,  
Friends,

It is with immeasurable pleasure and happiness for me to declare the closing of this Asian Economic Seminar which has taken place for more than a week from June 16th to 23rd.

Although we have come here from the continents separated thousands of miles away from each other by land and sea, our common position and our same aspiration have enabled us to reach a complete identity of views on all the matters discussed.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Mrs. Theja Gunawardhana for her great contribution to this Seminar, and to the delegations from various countries for their sincere efforts to make the work of the Seminar a success.

This Asian Economic Seminar which has proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship, unity and mutual co-operation from beginning to end was one more event of great significance in the life of the Afro-Asian peoples.

This Seminar has made a great contribution to the common cause of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism and building an independent national economy relying on one's own efforts.

The respect you expressed from this high rostrum to Marshal Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved leader of the Korean people, and to our government and your warm support to our people were a boundless inspiration to them in their struggle to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressive army from South Korea, unify the country by themselves and build socialism in the country. For this I express heartfelt gratitude to you delegates, our dear friends.

I hope you will convey, on your returning home, our warm greetings to the peoples of your countries.

I hope we will meet again in the future with greater successes in the struggle for attaining our common goal.

Long live the friendship and unity among the Afro-Asian, Latin American peoples in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, old and new!

**Mrs. THEJA GUNAWARDHANA at the  
Banquet given by the Cabinet of the Government of the Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea**

Your Excellency, Comrade and Brother Premier Kim Il Sung and Honourable Ministers of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, dear friends,

Indeed this reception by your excellencies is a glorious finale to our historic Pyongyang Economic Seminar attended by 95 delegates and participants of 35 countries.

We thank you for this opportunity to meet the leaders of the heroes of Chullima—headed by the great Chullima himself Kim Il Sung.

In some of our countries it is not an easy task to organize such a Seminar. But the people of Korea have given us such an unforgettable welcome since your government has given its fullest co-operation to this historic Seminar which indeed is a landmark in forging the bonds of Afro-Asian, Latin American and Oceania unity and solidarity.

By this gesture the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has rendered a great service in the cause of the struggle of humanity for a better life—a life you have successfully introduced to your people by sacrifice, a long and protracted armed struggle, suffering, hard work and dedicated leadership. We know that in Korea the leaders and the people work hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder.

This is one of the greatest lessons you have taught us and it has intensified our yearning to go back to our peoples, most of us to our struggles, some to their armed struggles, in a spirit of dedication and readiness to serve our people. We shall always place their interests first and above all else.

Our Seminar has indeed strengthened our revolutionary ardour. It has given us the direction of the right road to follow and turn a deaf ear to those who degenerately try to beguile us to the comfortable road of closing our eyes and ears to the call of national independence, by forsaking our struggle and betraying our comrades.

We pay homage to you not only for your slashing of U.S. imperialism but for slashing it so well. We assure you we will do all in our power to promote the cause of the reunification of South Korea with the fatherland.

A strong unified Korea is also our own revolutionary base.

Our Seminar has helped us to clearly understand our destiny and to be confident in our ultimate victory in shaping that historical destiny.

Dear leaders of Korea on behalf of the participants of this unforgettable Seminar I wish you all long life, and wish strength and prosperity to the Republic and great happiness of your generations to come.

May we in close co-operation with you usher such a new life as yours to our own peoples and to our generations unborn.

May you live long to the greater glory of your beloved land.

For this united wish of all of us I propose a toast.

**Hon. S.B. KOUYATE, Head of the Mali Delegation, at the  
Banquet arranged by the Cabinet of the Democratic People's  
Republic of Korea**

Your Excellency Premier,  
Your Excellencies,  
Dear Friends,

Allow me to speak first how the African peoples hold Marshal Kim Il Sung in high regard. I deem it great honor to convey these words to Marshal Kim Il Sung.

We have always closely followed the road of victory traversed by the Korean people under the leadership of Marshal Kim Il Sung.

We, fighters from Africa, are greatly proud of staying for several days in this country, the centre of revolution. The convening of the Asian Economic Seminar in Pyongyang itself brings great happiness to us.

We can hold such a seminar in Pyongyang because imperialism was shattered in this country a decade ago. This will open a more brilliant future before us. We are to leave Korea, therefore, with new weapons and new confidence.

North Africa and the whole Africa salute and thank the Korean people for instilling new confidence into Africa.

The path of theory you have traversed and the life full of triumph you have been leading are what we are looking upon in the struggle against the common enemy. We are confident of your joint victory.

A folk song says that in Africa the people are proud of their being the people while the kings are boastful of their armies, because they always won victories over the kings.

If the imperialists and their associates boast of their weapons, we will be proud of being the fighters and the peoples, and we will overpower them.

Asia and Africa have made them tremble by uniting closely. The more they were fearful of us, the firmer we united. Before long we will greet the victory of the people.

Allow me to propose a toast to the friendship and invincible solidarity among the Oceanic, Asian, African and Latin American peoples, to the good health of all the fighting revolutionary leaders faithful to the revolution, to the happiness of the Korean people and to the complete elimination of imperialism.

## **MEMORIAL SPEECH ON Dr. CHI CHAO-TING**

**By THEJA GUNAWARDHANA**

Friends,

Our Bureau has sustained a great loss by the sudden passing away of Dr. Chi Chao-Ting former Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of Trade and one of our founder members who made an outstanding and great contribution to the First 1962 Colombo Asian Economic Seminar.

He was a great and world renowned economist whose demise was widely mourned in countries all over the world. He was well known in the American, British and Latin American economic circles and the news papers and periodicals of these countries all carried great tributes to the memory of this talented son of China.

He was not only a world famous economist but an archaeologist, lawyer, calligraphist, writer and last but not the least an indomitable fighter for national independence.

His loss is not only that of the People's Republic of China but of all the freedom loving peoples.

We will honour his memory by a two minutes silence and send on behalf of this gathering our heartfelt sympathy and condolences to his family.

### **CABLE SENT TO MME. CHI CHAO-TING**

Peking

To:—Madame Chi Chao-Ting,

The Asian Economic Seminar now in session in Pyongyang extends its deep condolence to you and all members of the family of Dr. Chi Chao-Ting.

The Seminar paid tribute to the memory of the last Dr. Chi Chao-Ting who made a great contribution to the work of the first Asian Economic Seminar held in Ceylon in 1962, and is held in great world-wide repute as distinguished economist.

NAM CHOON HWA  
*Chairman of the Second Asian  
Economic Seminar*

Very cordially yours,  
THEJA GUNAWARDHANA  
*Chairman of the Asian Economic  
Bureau*

Pyongyang, Korea, June 16, 1964.

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### CONDOLENCE OVER THE DEATH OF VICE-CHAIRMAN, UPC ABEL KINQUE

By NAM CHOON HWA (Chairman)

Fellow delegates,

We received the sad news yesterday that Kinque Abel, Vice-Chairman of that the People's Union of Cameroon (UPC), who is well known to us through his staunch struggle for the liberation and independence of Cameroon, passed away.

We express our deep regret over his death, yet we are at the same time confident that the true sons and daughters of the Cameroonian people, keeping back their sorrow and lament, will continue to wage an ever indomitable struggle.

I propose a one-minute's silence in token of respect to the memory of Kinque Abel.

\* \* \*

### CONDOLENCE ADDRESS

By FASSO FRANCOIS (Cameroon)

Mme. Chairman,  
Honourable delegates,  
Dear Friends,

Words fail me to express how much I am moved by the moving homage which you have paid to the memory of our hero, Comrade Kinque Abel, Vice-Chairman of the Cameroon People's Union.

The history of our Party and the Cameroonian revolution is the most tragic history in the world revolutionary movement. The painful loss which we all deplore here today is that of a fighter who has displayed heroism and integrity at the hardest moment of the imperialist offensive not only in Cameroon but also in the international arena. Kinque Abel was one of the members of the dignified delegation of our Party to the founding of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement at Cairo in 1958.

He is one of those who founded the Cameroon People's Union in April 1948. By working enthusiastically among the Cameroonian masses deceived by French colonialism, without fearing repression, imprisonment or shooting by the enemy, he gained the respect and love of the entire Cameroonian people.

His courage, his joy to struggle for the just cause, his simplicity and his devotion to the national cause earned him a boundless popularity.

He died in his turn after the assassination by French mercenaries in September, 1958 of the immortal Ruben Um Nyobe, Secretary General of the UPC., who was leading the Cameroonian guerillas, and of our beloved Felix-Roland Moumie, Chairman of our Party, dastardly poisoned by thallium in November 1960 in Geneva by the "main rouge Francaise".

The imperialists having assassinated Um Nyobe and F.R. Moumie in collusion with the revisionist agents who have wormed their way into our ranks, it is doubtless that our comrade Kinque Abel is a victim of the revisionists who have insolently interfered in the internal affairs of our Party.

After one year and a half of detention under conditions particularly hard for a sick man like him—detention due to a plot woven by the revisionists and their stooges in Accra, the health of our leader was dangerously injured. His conditions were such that care could produce no effect.

Friends,

The moving homage you have just paid solemnly to the memory of our heroes is distinct proof that we are not alone.

As for we liberation fighters who are still alive, the only way of honouring the memory of our heroes is a dignified manner, is to continue the humanitarian work to which they dedicated their best, that is, to continue to hold higher the banner of revolution.



The UPC immortal soul of the Cameroonian revolution, will never die. It will carry its historic mission through to the end, because it is like steel: the more one strikes it the firmer and stronger it becomes.

This is the vow we make over the remains of our dear comrade Kinque Abel.

### **CABLE SENT TO UPC**

Having received with a great shock the news of the death of Comrade Kinque Abel, Vice-President of the People's Union of Cameroon.

Extending condolence to the heroic people of Cameroon on the loss of their leader, valiant anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist fighter.

Assuring the revolutionary people of Cameroon its full solidarity and its total support for the armed struggle they are waging against the unpopular regime imposed by the imperialists headed by the United States.

The Seminar is firmly convinced that the heroic people of Cameroon will doubtlessly win the final victory over the reactionary forces for real independence, democracy and progress.

### **CABLE SENT TO**

**NDE NTUMAZAH, President De One Kamerun, African Affairs Centre  
P.O. Box M-95 Accra, Republic of Ghana**

Asian Economic Seminar now in session in Pyongyang, capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its Plenary Session 19th June with 93 delegates from 33 countries paid tribute memory Kinque Abel Vice-President UPC. All delegates grieved here sad news. Your heroic movement with great revolutionary traditions will we know, hold ever higher your glorious banner. Imperialists have destroyed your great leaders Nyobe, Moumie and other cadres. But they cannot destroy your spirit. Your delegate Fosso Francois has maintained your great traditions in our seminar please convey our condolence Kinque's family and UPC.

**THEJA GUNAWARDHANA,**  
*Chairman, Asian Economic Bureau.*

**NAM CHOON HWA,**  
*Chairman, Asian Economic Seminar.*

## CABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL

We the delegates representing 34 countries from Asia and Africa attending the Asian Economic Seminar at Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, strongly protest at the unjust and inhuman detention of the Chinese trade representatives and journalists by the Brazilian authorities.

We demand the immediate release of these personnel whose chief purpose was and is to strengthen, particularly, economic relations between the peoples of China and Brazil. We demand the restoration of their freedom, the guarantee of their safety, so as to continue their normal noble work.

*Participants of 34 Asian and African Countries  
in the Asian Economic Seminar in Pyongyang.*

## SPEECH AT THE RALLY IN CELEBRATION OF THE JUNE 25 ANNIVERSARY IN PYONGYANG

By KIM WAL RYONG,

*(Chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade  
Unions in Korea)*

Dear comrades and friends!

Dear citizens of Pyongyang!

It is fourteen years since the U.S. imperialists provoked the brigandish aggressive war against the Korean people.

June 25 was a grim day on which the U.S. imperialist aggressors imposed a bloody war upon the Korean people who were engaged in building a new life under the popular government. It was a historic day on which our people rose up indignantly, arms in their hands, to rout the enemy for the defence of the freedom, independence and glory of their motherland and for world peace.

On this day the entire people are burning with surging national wrath against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, and they are intensifying the struggle to drive out Yankees from their sacred land.

Together with us, our honest-minded friends of the whole world, too, are raising their voice to a higher pitch sternly protesting against and denouncing the U.S. imperialists' machinations for aggression and war in South Korea and demanding the withdrawal of their army of aggression from South Korea.

Today's meeting is honoured by the presence of the delegates of over thirty countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania.

I, in the name of citizens of Pyongyang, extend warm welcome to the entire delegates who came to our country for the Asian Economic Seminar, and heartily congratulate them on the great success they attained in the discussion of question on strengthening unity in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, building an independent national economy and developing relations of economic co-operation between nations on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

I also express deep thanks to them for having come to this rally demanding the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. army from South Korea and for manifesting their active support to and solidarity with our people in their struggle for achieving the peaceful unification of the country, opposing U.S. imperialism.

Provoking the Korean war, the U.S. imperialists mobilized mercenaries of their 15 satellites as well as the bulk of their army, navy and air force with the wild dream of strangling our young Republic in the cradle, occupying Korea as their permanent colony and igniting another conflagration in the Far East and the world.

Indeed, the three-year Korean war still more saliently laid bare before the whole world the heinous brutalities of the U.S. imperialists, unmatched in history.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors reduced our blossoming towns and villages to heaps of ashes, cold-bloodedly massacred the peaceable inhabitants who were singing of happiness, and sought to throttle all living things on the ground with germ bombs and chemical weapons.

However, the Korean people, who rose up in the righteous struggle with arms in their hands for the freedom and independence of the country, unyieldingly fought the enemy in the sea of fire and won victory, and defended the gains of our revolution from the invaders laying down their lives.

The myth about "all-powerful technique" and their "almightiness" the U.S. imperialists had boasted of, were shattered to smithereens in the face of our people's struggle.

U.S. imperialism suffered the first and most crushing defeat in its history of aggression and bent its knees before the Korean people.

The great victory the Korean people won in the Fatherland Liberation War has shown that the united force of a people who became the masters of their destinies is invincible and no force on earth can vanquish it.

The Korean people were not isolated in the least in the righteous war against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and for the country's freedom, independence and peace.

During our people's Fatherland Liberation War the best sons and daughters of the fraternal Chinese people fought the enemy side by side with us on heights, in villages and trenches of our country, shedding their blood, and the people of the socialist countries and the world peace-loving people in all parts of the Five Continents extended their active support and encouragement to the fighting Korean people, denouncing the U.S. aggressors.

The Korean War demonstrated the great might of the people firmly united by the internationalist solidarity, and showed that the united might of the world people can defeat any imperialist forces of aggression.

Eleven years have already elapsed since the realization of armistice in Korea. Our people and the Government of the Republic have all along exerted sincere efforts for a stable peace in Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. However, the U.S. imperialists have stayed on in South Korea, have been aggravating tension in Korea and feverishly making preparations for aggression and war, far from drawing a due lesson from their ignominious defeat in the Korean war.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors have turned South Korea into a base for a nuclear and rocket war by continuously shipping in atomic and hydrogen weapons and various other new-type weapons in flagrant violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, and are kicking up frantic war rackets and perpetrating armed invasion into the territory of our side more frequently.

The U.S. imperialists have not only turned South Korea into their colony and military base but also converted it into a land of darkness under the sway of fascist outrages and terror, a land where all democratic freedom and rights have been eradicated.

The racial contempt and bestial atrocities of the U.S. imperialist aggressive army against our people are ever worsening and everywhere Yankees set foot, there the blood of our brothers and sisters is shed.

Through the specious "aid" the U.S. imperialist have totally ruined the South Korean national economy and driven the people there into the mire of destitution.

As a result, in South Korea today are heard everywhere angry voices of ragged and starving people airing their grievances, all villages are crying for food, every town is stricken with fear and all peoples are writhing with their right to existence trampled underfoot.

Of late, the U.S. imperialists and their stooges Pak Jung Hi clique are frantically trying to maintain their tottering colonial rule and turn the South Korean people into dual slaves of the U.S. and Japanese imperialists by ushering even the Japanese militarists, the sworn enemy of the Korean people, into South Korea.

All this clearly reveals to the people of the whole world that the U.S. imperialists are the very root cause of all misfortunes and sufferings of the South Korean people and criminals who disturb peace in Korea and hamper Korea's unification.

So long as South Korea is occupied by the U.S. imperialist aggressive army, durable peace in Korea and the peaceful unification of the country by the Koreans themselves cannot be expected, nor can the South Korean people attain genuine freedom and independence.

Such being the case, it is quite natural that the South Korean people are dead set against the despotic fascist rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and raising their voices ever louder in demand of sovereignty and self-reliance, rejecting dependence on outside forces.

Of late, the South Korean youth, students and broad sections of people have been waging a heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Pak Jung Hi clique as well as the Japanese militarists' scheme of reinvasion thereby dealing a fatal blow to U.S. imperialism and the Pak Jung Hi clique. Driven into a tight corner, the U.S. imperialists and their stooges have proclaimed the "extraordinary martial law" and, having mobilized heavily armed troops of several divisions, are now suppressing the youth, students and other segments of the people who have risen up in a just patriotic struggle.

Whatever sinister devices and means the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen may employ, however, they will be unable to suppress the

ever mounting anti-imperialist, national-salvation struggle of the South Korean people and still the powerful revolutionary storm of the popular movement.

Dear comrades and friends,

The present grave situation in South Korea is agitating the minds of all those who are concerned about the future of the country and the nation.

And it is the supreme task of our people today to put an end to the tragedy of division and achieve the peaceful unification of the country by ourselves on a democratic basis.

The entire South Korean people should come out in a more determined struggle to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the source of all evils, from the territory of our country, smash their colonial regime, win democratic freedom and rights and to establish a genuine people's power.

The people must give resistance to the U.S. imperialists everywhere, not allowing them any foothold.

Today the northern part of Korea has grown incomparably stronger than it was when U.S. imperialism started the aggressive war against our country fourteen years ago and the whole of the country has been turned into an impregnable fortress.

The enemy calculated that our people would not be able to stand on their own feet again on such severe war ruins.

Our people, however, under the intelligent leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea led by Comrade Kim Il Sung have registered tremendous achievements in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, built up the solid foundation of an independent national economy capable of guaranteeing the prosperity and development of our country and the unification and independence of the country, by waging a heroic fight overcoming a mountain of difficulties and trials.

The entire people are united around our Party more closely than ever and the northern part of the country has been converted into an indestructible base of the Korean revolution and a powerful bulwark of the country's unification.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors must remember that should they indulge in another reckless military gambling in Korea, they would be unable to escape a crushing blow at the hands of our people who are firmly united with one accord.

Today, the U.S. imperialists are opposing the socialist countries, are suppressing the liberation struggle of the people and making frantic preparations for a new war, not only in South Korea but also everywhere in Asia and the world.

U.S. imperialism, the blood-thirsty human butcher and international gendarme who strangles the independence and freedom of the people, is desperately preparing for thermo-nuclear war, while carrying on its perpetrating aggression and plunder of other countries and interfering in their internal affairs.

But the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war are going bankrupt at each step under the impact of the powerful resistance of the peoples throughout the world.

Today we live in an era of a great revolutionary storm in which the imperialist colonial system is falling apart and all nations are achieving liberation and independence.

In colonial and dependent countries such as South Vietnam, Laos, Angola and Mozambique, the peoples, with arms in their hands, are fighting heroically for freedom and independence. And the anti-imperialist and national-liberation struggle is gaining in scope and strength in all regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Korean people give active support and encouragement to the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for freedom and independence against imperialist oppression and plunder, and are rejoiced over all the successes achieved in their liberation struggles as if they were their own.

Today, the internal and external situation is developing in favour of the revolutionary cause of our people.

Our compatriots in South Korea should display greater vigour in their anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle for driving out the U.S. imperialist aggressors from South Korea and overthrowing the Pak Jung Hi military fascist clique.

In order to oust the U.S. imperialist aggressors from our territory and expedite the victory of our revolution, the entire working people of North Korea should confidently march forward, holding higher the banner of unity of proletarian internationalism on the common front for building socialism at a faster rate and in a better way and opposing the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the common enemy of mankind.

The doom of the colonial regime of U.S. imperialism is sealed. Its downfall is an inescapable trend of our times. Victory belongs to the Korean people who are fighting for the freedom and independence of the country and for peace.

- U.S. imperialist aggressors, get out of South Korea at once!
- Long live the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism!
- Long live the Korean people of a united Korea!

## **SPEECH AT THE RALLY**

**By THEJA GUNAWARDHANA**

Fourteen years ago on June 25th, 1950, the USA committed an unpardonable aggression on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Korea had liberated itself from Japanese imperialism on August 15th, 1945, but a US army landed in South Korea one month later creating a puppet military government in the name of MacArthur U.S. Commander of Forces. A reign of terror, mass butchery and economic exploitation and devastation of her economy has gone on ever since in that part of the country, using the U.N. flag as a cover and in gross violation of the principles and Charter of the United Nations.

In 1950, the puppet Syngman Rhee clique was defeated at the elections and for the purpose of occupying the whole of Korea by force, the puppet clique under U.S. control launched an armed aggression on the northern part. Had this aggression succeeded, the whole of Asia and the Socialist countries would have had to face U.S. aggression.

But the heroic struggle of North the Korean people later helped by their Chinese Comrades defeated the U.S. imperialists and armed forces of 15 satellite countries after a 3-year war and compelled them to sign the armistice agreement at Panmunjom, at the same place the war was launched.

Having suffered one defeat after another, militarily, politically and morally, U.S. imperialism brought to its knees asked for armistice talks shattering to smithereens the bogey of the great might of this so-called Free World Custodian.



The aggression had cost USA 20 billion dollars and 73 million tons of armaments and yet the revolutionary spirit of the Korean people could not be over-powered. This also demonstrated the correct leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea under Marshal Kim Il Sung and the vitality of the socialist system.

Atomic guns, missiles, germ warfare and cannibalism only proved that they were powerless in the face of a mass armed struggle which honouring the revolutionary code never begs for peace but fights bravely to victory.

A vast comedy and farce has gone on in South Korea, under cover of the U.N. fiat. In 1948 an illegal U.N. Commission supervised "elections" violating Article 2 of the U.N. Charter. These "elections" were conducted "democratically" with swords, bayonets, clubs and carnage—voters being dragged out by terrorist gangs. The "elections" made the U.S. army the real government of South Korea.

It was also interesting that the State Department had already drafted the U.N. "resolution" on the "Korean War" even before they launched the aggression. They knew in general what they were going to say! The U.N. Security Council railroaded the illegal resolution blessing the armed intervention. What a mockery and shameless misuse of the U.N.

Similarly virulent and diabolical fascist laws are passed in South Korea while the progressives are locked up in the National Assembly basement, but the heroic struggle of the South Korean people for unification is gathering momentum day by day. The U.S. army has no moral grounds to squat any longer in South Korea.

It is our duty to promote the cause of reunification and we shall do our best. Here in Korea is so clearly seen in diametrical opposition socialism and imperialism, progress and reaction, independence and neo-colonialism, peace and war, justice and injustice—proving to the world and pro-imperialists that the nature of imperialism can never change and principles of revolutionary struggle also remain unchanged.

Long live a reunified Korea!

## NAN HAN-CHEN, at the Rally

Esteemed comrades,  
Dear comrades, friends,

We regard it immense joy to observe the 14th anniversary of the Great Fatherland Liberation War of the Korean people together with the brotherly Korean people and delegates and friends who had attended the Asian Economic Seminar.

The victory of the Korean people in the Fatherland Liberation War was of great historical significance.

This victory proved before the whole world that even the U.S. imperialists, strongest and most ferocious imperialists in the world, can be defeated completely.

When they ignited the aggressive war in Korea 14 years ago, the U.S. imperialists ranted that they could blot out from the map the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in a few days or within several weeks, and frenziedly tried to realize their ambition for the aggression of the Asian continent.

But outwardly strong U.S. imperialism was defeated and smashed under the blows of the heroic Korean people and took to flight, revealing its true nature as a "paper tiger".

While beating a retreat, U.S. imperialism blabbed that Korea could never stand up again on her own feet.

But even that dream of U.S. imperialism went flop little later.

In a little more than ten years following the armistice, the Korean people have not only healed the war wounds and war ravages but also built at the Chullima speed new Korea which, full of vigor and energy, has taken on a completely new look.

The great victory of the Korean people has enormous international significance, too. The Korean people not only defended the freedom and independence of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea but firmly safeguarded the eastern outpost of the socialist camp. By routing the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the Korean people greatly contributed to

defending and consolidating peace in the Far East and the world and greatly inspired and backed the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle of the oppressed nations the world over.

The Korean people are now carrying on the struggle to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressive army from South Korea and peacefully unify the country.

The South Korean people are thrown in the sough of intolerable privation under the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism. Thus, today the anti-U.S., national salvation struggle of the South Korean youth, students and people is mounting.

We are firmly convinced that with the encouragement of the entire world people the Korean people will certainly realize their desire for the peaceful unification of the country after driving out the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Today U.S. imperialism is machinating to bring the South Korea-Japan talks to an early completion. The aim of the talks is to frame up the so-called "North East Asia Military Alliance" by banding together the Japanese militarists and the Pak Jung Hi bandits.

The Chinese people resolutely support the just struggle of the Korean and Japanese peoples against the South Korea-Japan talks.

From the moment we set foot on Korea, we could see for ourselves the tremendous achievements of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in economic development.

The fact that the Korean people have rapidly developed economic construction has proved before the entire world people that if one relies mainly on one's own forces and at the same time intensifies and develops economic co-operation among nations on the principle of equality and mutual benefit it can get rid of its backwardness and build self-supporting national economy.

The recent Asian Economic Seminar held in Pyongyang strengthened the unity, co-operation and mutual support among the Asian, African and Latin American peoples giving full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and raising higher the standard opposing imperialism and colonialism, new and old, and fully demonstrated the firm determination of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and defend national independence and develop independent national economy.

The outstanding contribution of the Korean people to the cause of defending peace and their shining example in economic construction are

the fruition of their heroic struggle wages under the correct guidance of Premier Kim Il Sung and are the victory won by adhering to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Korean Workers' Party.

Dear comrades and friends!

The international situation at the present juncture has changed markedly and the situation of the imperialists and their stooges are worsening as the days go by. The national-liberation movement is mounting vigorously in Asian, African and Latin American countries and very favourable revolutionary conditions have been created before us. But the U.S.-led imperialists are continuously running amock, not taking their defeats lying down.

Recently the U.S. imperialists are gravely menacing peace in Asia intensifying their aggressive and war machinations in this area.

The U.S. imperialists are trying hard to extend the war in South Vietnam and are stepping up their aggressive and subversive machinations against Cambodia.

Worse still, the United States has overthrown the Laotian government of national unity, wrecked the Geneva agreement and committed direct armed intervention and aggression against Laos, thereby creating a situation extremely grave and critical to peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The entire world peace loving countries and peoples, the countries and peoples related to the Geneva agreement in particular, must start action forthwith and resolutely curb the aggravating military adventurous machinations of the U.S. imperialists against South Vietnam, Laos and other areas.

The Chinese people determinedly support the Geneva agreement and resolutely back the just, anti-U.S. patriotic struggle of the Laotian and South Vietnamese peoples.

And the Chinese people resolutely support the just struggle of the Korean people for driving out the U.S. imperialist aggressive troops from South Korea and accomplishing the peaceful unification of the country. We also extend undivided support to the heroic struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism and their stooges.

If the entire world people unite, form a broad anti-imperialist united front and resolutely fight against U.S.-led imperialism, we will certainly win final victory.

**U.S. imperialism, get out of South Korea! Get out of Laos and South Vietnam! Get out of Taiwan! Get out of Asia, Africa and Latin America! Get out of all areas it has occupied!**

**Long live the heroic Korean people!**

**Long live the victory of the struggle of the Korean people against the U.S. imperialist aggression and for the peaceful unification of the country!**

**Long live Premier Kim Il Sung, respected and beloved leader of the Korean people and close friend of the Chinese people!**

**Long live the Korean Worker's Party and the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!**

## **Hon. S.B. KOUYATE (Mali) at the Mass Rally**

Fourteen years ago, after a heroic struggle against Japanese imperialism, you underwent one of the most terrible aggression not only in your history but also in the history of all the peoples. Commemorating this day I am happy to convey to you the message of fraternity and solidarity from the Mali people.

Fourteen years ago the imperialists dreamed to crush your people in a few days, but they were mistaken as all those who did not believe the might of the people. You have crushed them. Despite the 800,000 bombs thrown on Pyongyang, despite the horrible massacre of children, women, old people, despite the savage bacteriological warfare, you fought at the advanced post of the people's struggle against imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists. You made thousands of sacrifices for the common freedom. The other peace-loving people are much obliged to you.

After they were beaten here, the U.S. imperialists were beaten in Vietnam, in Algeria, in Cuba, and today the people of Africa have risen up to crush them once and for all.

He who says that imperialism has changed and therefore it is ready to accept peace is grossly mistaken. Can there be peace between a slave and his master? We have in Africa definitely rejected such advice. We know that peace must not be begged from imperialism. Peace must be gained through struggle. They say that as there are nuclear arms we must no longer fight but live in peace. We do not want a peace of slaves. When you crushed in Korea the imperialist armies, they already had all kinds of weapons. This proves once again that no weapon can defeat the people.

Korean friends,

We are struck with admiration before the heroic life you are leading. The imperialists said: "Korea will not rise up before 100 years hence". Korea has risen up, more resolved, more decided than before to build her happy life.

It is they, the imperialists, that are digging their graves, as is demonstrated by the advance en masse of the Asian, African and Latin American people.

And today the international situation is favourable to us. The camp of aggression is becoming weaker and weaker with each passing day. And the people the world over are clasping hands with each other and no more fall prey to deception and fraud. Nothing can arrest them. On this united front of the people the world over the Malian people occupy their position with firmness. They are determined to fight to the end against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and they will remain on your side, on the side of the Asian and African people in their struggle against the common enemy.

In your present struggle for the peaceful unification of your country, we are on your side. I am convinced that the southern part of your country will surely be liberated from the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys despite their machinations and lies. It will be the same with Taiwan, South Vietnam, North Kalimantan and the Congo-Leopoldville.

We express thanks to you for the great patriotic example you showed to the whole world during the aggression of the imperialists of 1950. We express thanks to you for the brilliant example of building an independent national economy that you have shown. We express thanks to you for the fraternal solidarity that you extend to us and that we feel in your people everywhere in the course of the Asian Economic Seminar.

Now we have a common heritage, that is, your great patriotic victory. And we are waging on your side the great struggle for the unification of your country, for complete defeat of imperialism, for liberty and happiness of our peoples. We will leave your country with unshakable confidence in our common destiny. Having such an energetic and illustrious leader as Premier Kim Il Sung, the front of our people is assured of the final victory.

Imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism is in its agony, let's hasten its death.

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

Down with the defeatists!

Imperialists, get out of South Korea, Taiwan, South Vietnam, the Congo-Leopoldville, Angola!

Long live the united front of the Asian, African and Latin American people!

**MARIO FELERY GARATE, a member of the Bolivia-Korea Friendship Committee and a Bolivian observer at the Seminar at the Mass Rally**

Dear Korean people!

Observing the 14th anniversary of the June 25, we friends of the heroic Korean people wish to pay our respect to the unprecedented spirit of sacrifice of the best sons and daughters of Korea who made the greatest sacrifice for the national-liberation and defense of the fatherland braving all pains and sacrifices.

This was the very pure sacrifice dedicated by the most advanced popular masses to the defense of their destiny. It was the most pure sacrifice which led the brave people to the avenue of victory, who know of no fear, and who brave all pains and death.

History still remembers vividly all the calamities of the terrible fratricidal war imposed on the Korean people. In this war the best sons and daughters of Korea were forced to fight against the criminal slaughter, pillage, violence, arson and destruction.

The war was, however, a just war for the Korean people, who, having cast aside the yoke of Japanese imperialist rule and cherishing a sense of patriotic duty, had taken the first step in their powerful advance towards the defense of independence of the fatherland. The war for defense of honour and integrity is a just one; the sacrifice made for defence of the soil of the fatherland from those who violate justice and rights is a necessary one.

In this decisive war the Korean people scored a shining victory—an immortal exploit which dealt the most ignominious defeat to the self-styled world-mightiest army. However, this victory was not only for the sons and daughters of this land.

And one who visits Korea's flowering cities and rural villages can not be blind and deaf to the grand advance in this land of Korea.

The Korean people unchained themselves from the morbid reality of Japanese imperialist rule—the result of the pillage of the rich natural resources of the land and greediness of the enterprisers. Then the Korean people successfully overcame the criminal aggression on their country



and destruction crushing the wall of privilege and the subsequent war schemes. They rebuilt first the country of the people in the peaceful land after the war victory.

Countless trials they have gone through in their endeavours to build the prosperous future rallied firm around the Workers' Party of Korea led by Marshal Kim Il Sung. And their strength began to redouble in the great and forceful struggle that only they can wage.

I have no doubt their ambition for building an independent national economy will be translated into reality and their efforts to yet improve and secure their life be realized.

The Korean people in their struggle against imperialism, first of all, implemented social and economic reforms and overthrew all the stumbling blocks of old society. To this end, the people and the government possessing the most noble will about and confidence in labour as well as united efforts and the same hopes became a most closely-knit social force and adhered to self-reliance. As a result, the whole society could be mobilized, and all people began to enjoy free and equal education and receive free medical treatment. And everyone is secured with employment.

The Korean people can enjoy all these benefits because they now hold all the country's resources which were plundered unlimitedly by the forces in the past. And because the old force that ruled the country is thrown overboard. In short, it is because they have realized their initial political aims most thoroughly.

In the second stage, the Korean people started the vast five-year plan as they set down to heal the war wounds. Giving priority to heavy industry, they also developed light industry and agriculture. And with the technical reformation in Co-operativized agriculture system of irrigation was adopted. Now electrification, mechanization and chemicalisation are under way. What all these measures have brought can be seen clearly in the country's reality of today.

A powerful material and technical foundation of industry has been laid, and it is being perfected.

Indeed, great changes have taken place in the northern part of Korea. Under the guidance of the Workers' Party of Korea the Korean people and the leaders implementing the Chungsan-ri spirit and waging the Chullima movement have realized the industrialization; now they are in the midst of the seven-year plan to be in step with advanced countries.

A forceful struggle they are waging, and they have scored already great successes in all parts of the country—Hwanghai Iron Works, Supoong Hydro-electric Power Station, Ryongsung Machine-building Factory, Pyongyang Electric Locomotive Plant, Pyongyang Textile Mill, Bongoong February and Vinalon Factory, to name a few.

What the Korean people have gained are for the destiny of the people, they are what the Party and Leader have envisaged. And all this made an uninterrupted revolution possible.

We are the people who love freedom. And we feel a sense of happiness over the fact the militant Korean people and their leader Marshal Kim Il Sung are with us. They are the ones who have made a great contribution to the preservation of peace everywhere, in all places where the ruling imperialists are creating all tragedies by driving out the hungry and shelterless children, sick and old to a wandering life, and where exploitation of man by man still prevails.

Millions of peoples know so well about your great heroism, the high integrity of the heroic Korean people.

And we are sure we will see without fail a unified Korea.

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live Marshal Kim Il Sung!

Long live Friendship of Peoples!

Down with American Imperialism!

## **Mme NGUYEN THI BINH (South Vietnam) at the Mass Rally**

Ladies and gentlemen,

All the Korean people and the citizens of Pyongyang, Friends,

The South Vietnamese delegation thinks it a great honour to have taken part in the meeting organized in the heroic city of Pyongyang on the occasion of the "Day of Struggle for Demanding the Immediate Withdrawal of American Troops from South Korea". On behalf of the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam, we should like to extend to the government and people of Korea the warm militant greetings of the 14 million people of South Vietnam.

The people of South Vietnam are full of admiration for the tradition of heroic struggle of the Korean people against imperialism and are always extremely anxious to learn from their Korean comrades.

In 1950, the American imperialists and their lackeys unleashed a big offensive against North Korea in the hope of occupying the whole territory of Korea and of realizing the sinister design of enslaving the Asian countries. They dragged 15 countries into their criminal war under the flag of the U.N. The Korean people with their ardent patriotism and strong heroism surmounted all the trials and difficulties and finally defeated the aggression troops of the American imperialists and their satellites. This victory of the Korean people was a crushing blow to the barbarous imperialists; it also gave the other peoples a great encouragement and a great confidence.

The spirit of heroic struggle of the Korean people is now manifested eloquently in their struggle for the upbuilding of the country. With the noble spirit of relying on their own forces and at the speed of Chullima, the heroic people of Korea transformed the war-ruins into beautiful towns, beautiful factories and in a short space of time built their country into an advanced industrial-agricultural state. The people are leading a happy life materially abundant and spiritually radiant.

This is precisely the successes achieved thanks to the spirit of relying on one's own forces in the building of an independent economy, and eloquent proof of those successes was brought before the Asian Economic Seminar which ended with success yesterday.

The South Vietnamese people rejoice over the great victories of the Korean people just as over their own and sincerely wish them still greater guidance of their beloved leader Premier Kim Il Sung.

In spite of their defeats, American imperialism would not abandon their designs of aggression. The South Korean people are at present held in the grip of the enemy. But nothing can break the unshakable fighting spirit of the South Korean people; the struggle of the youths and people of South Korea against the American imperialists for saving the fatherland is gaining momentum.

The struggle of the entire Korean people against American imperialism for unifying the country is a just struggle, which is supported by the peoples of the whole world. Today is exactly the first day of the "Month of Support to the Struggle of the Korean People" organized in many countries in accordance with the decision of the 6th Congress of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

The American imperialists should pull out of South Korea, and the Korean issue should be settled by the Korean people themselves.

The people of South Vietnam resolutely support the legitimate demands of the Korean people and are firmly convinced that the righteous struggle of the Korean people for the unification of the country will finally be crowned with victory.

Ladies and gentlemen,  
Friends,

The people of South Vietnam have profound sympathy for the Korean people, for we find ourselves in the same situation: our country is still divided and is as if cut in two, we are fighting against the American imperialists and their lackeys for the same purpose—to liberate the southern part and unify the country. We are happy to report to you, to the fraternal people of Korea, briefly about the situation of the struggle of our people.

For ten years the American imperialists have been flagrantly violating the Geneva Agreements the execution of which they promised not to hamper; they have established in South Vietnam an extremely fascist puppet government to repress the people in the hope of realizing their aggressive designs on South Vietnam and of converting South Vietnam into a military base and a new-type colony of the Americans. Since 1961

they have been waging a "special war", have savagely massacred South Vietnamese population and, at the same time, are pursuing another more cruel aim, an aim of using South Vietnam as a drill ground for the wars of repression against the national-liberation movement which is from day to day gaining in strength and scope in other countries.

In the war of aggression which they are now waging in South Vietnam as in the aggressive war they waged in Korea before, the American imperialists do not hesitate to employ any kind of barbarous methods. How many patriots of South Vietnam have been beheaded, their bellies cut open and livers scooped out by those barbarians in human guise and with the hearts of beasts. No less than 40,000 persons including 6,000 children are languishing in prisons at all times. How many villages they have burnt down and destroyed in order to concentrate millions of inhabitants in giant concentration camps called "strategic hamlets".

An army consisting of 30,000 American officers and half a million puppet soldiers is indulging in operations of plunder and massacre everywhere, an average of 100 big and small operations each day. Many hundred tons of napalm bombs, phosphorus shells and, what is more cruel, poisonous materials are employed everyday, killing people en masse and burning down our dear villages.

Sustaining continuous defeats at the hands of the South Vietnamese people and vehemently condemned by the world people, the U.S. imperialists are desperately seeking to extend the war in South Vietnam and in the countries of Indo-China in the hope of getting out of the tight corner. They are seeking to draw into this war their allies of the military blocs—the SEATO and the NATO—and to use the United Nations in repeating the abominable crimes they perpetrated in Korea and in the Congo.

But just as the American imperialists could not subjugate the Korean people with all their reprisals and repressions, they cannot frighten the South Vietnamese people. Our people in the South counter-attacked all the cruel and barbarous machinations of the enemy by the unbreakable unity of 14 million people who are closely rallied around the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam which embraces all social strata, different political parties, men of religion and nationalities. Against the well-supplied modern army of the enemy, we have forged our heroism and our militant spirit to fight to the final victory. Reality has confirmed that this resolute stand is fully justified. The more the South Vietnamese people fight, the stronger they become; on the contrary, the more U.S. imperialist fights, the deeper they fall into a quagmire.

The political struggle is developing with each passing day not only in the countryside but also in the towns where the enemies are encircled. During the first quarter of the year, more than 12 million people took part in the political struggle. The people's armed forces are developing very rapidly both in quantity and in quality. The Korean people have the heroic fighters who defended height 1,211, and the South Vietnamese people have also groups of the Ap-bac artillery fighters who never retreat but always advance. During the four months of the year, were killed and wounded 33,320 enemies, of which 472 are American, wiped out 810 enemy posts, destroyed 3,562 strategic hamlets. Although the enemy is actively trying to increase his numerical strength, the number of deserters increase with each passing day and in the first four months of the year the figure reached 21,336. The Front now controls over two-thirds of the territory with over half the population.

These great successes have even further strengthened our confidence in the force of our unity and fighting strength, and we are more firmly determined to fight to carry through to the end the objectives set forth by the Front: namely, independence, democracy, peace, neutrality for attaining the unification of the country.

On June 6 this year, the Foreign Relations Committee of the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam declared: "The National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam reaffirms its firm position of resolutely carrying on their patriotic resistance against the American imperialist aggressors and their lackeys who are traitors to the country, of resolutely carrying this resistance through to the end for liberating South Vietnam, realising independence and neutrality of South Vietnam. The settlement of the South Vietnamese question entirely belongs to the internal affairs of the South Vietnamese people. That the situation in South Vietnam has become complex and acute is due to the aggression by the U.S. imperialists. The only way to the restoration of order in South Vietnam and in the South-East Asia is that the American imperialists stop aggression, pull out all their military advisors, armaments and weapons from South Vietnam, respect the aspirations of the South Vietnamese people for independence and neutrality and, at the same time, stop all acts of intervention and aggression against Laos and Cambodia.

The United States must respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the countries of Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The confidence of the South Vietnamese people in victory is strengthened by the support from their brothers in North Vietnam who never forget us and who are doing everything possible to aid us. The Chairman of our National-Liberation Front Nguyen Luin Tho often said: "It is a boundlessly precious support proceeding from the fraternal feeling of compatriots and from the common task of the two zones".

Our confidence in victory is being strengthened by the active approval and support of the progressive peoples and world over, particularly the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

This year the 6th Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee decided to organize, for a period from July 13 to 20, a week of struggle to protest against the war of aggression wages by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, to support the struggle of the Vietnamese people for the reunification of their country on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam, and to make July 20, 1964 the day of the 4th anniversary of the founding of the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam, a "day of solidarity with the heroic people of South Vietnam". This is a precious encouragement which the Vietnamese people will never forget.

The South Vietnamese people and the Korean people find themselves in the same situation and, having the common enemy are closely linked in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism for realizing the unification of their countries. The heroic struggle of the Korean people have vigorously encouraged the South Vietnamese people as well as other people. We are well aware that the Korean people always pay particular attention to our present struggle which is hard but will be surely crowned with victory, that they cherish for us the most friendly feeling, that they accord us a warm moral and material support. The "Korean Committee for Supporting the Struggle of the South Vietnamese People" established at the end of last year has been carrying on its activities regularly and achieved successes of great significance.

Availing myself of this occasion I, on behalf of the South Vietnamese people, express our sincere gratitude for the active and precious support of the government and the people of Korea for us.

Permit me to assure you that the South Vietnamese people are always on the side of the Korean people, their dear comrades-in-arms in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, our common enemy, for the liberation of South Vietnam and South Korea.

Ladies and gentlemen,  
Friends,

The brilliant victories which the Korean people have achieved in the past in the liberation war against U.S. imperialism and which we are today recalling at this meeting with pride, as well as the great success our South Vietnamese people have scored recently, confirm everyday our faith in this radiant truth: "When a people, even if small, can unite and rise in a struggle, they can defeat their enemy, even if the enemy is the most powerful imperialist country".

The South Vietnamese people affirm that no matter how barbarous the enemy's machinations may be, no matter how hard and difficult the struggle may be, the South Vietnamese people will never lay down their arms until the most ardent aspiration of our people is realized.

The Vietnamese and Korean peoples will surely be crowned with victory.

The U.S. imperialists will surely be made to withdraw from South Korea, South Vietnam and other parts of the world.

South Vietnam and South Korea will surely be liberated.

Long live the solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the Korean people in their struggle!



## TEMMAR HAMID (Algeria)

I think it a great honour to express the feeling of friendship, solidarity and support to the courageous and heroic Korean people.

The day when the Americans unleashed armed aggression against the Korean people in 1950 is an unforgettable day for all the peoples who have risen in a struggle against foreign imperialism; this day reminds the Korean people that the danger still hangs around the gate; this day reminds all the newly-independent countries that the danger has not disappeared. This day demands all the revolutionaries to strengthen the mobilized posture that is always necessary for keeping counter-revolution and imperialism in check.

The Algerian people know well the ugly and odious aspect of the war of aggression imposed upon them by the French imperialists in the past. Still now they remain mobilized against the external blows of the anti-popular, counter-revolution allied with imperialism. Therefore, the Algerian people well understand the same danger that menaces the Korean people and have a warm feeling of solidarity for the fraternal Korean people.

By the community of the historical past drenched in the blood of our heroes who fought for revolution and independence, the peoples of our two countries are firmly united.

Our two peoples have seen their children, women, old folk murdered by the dastard imperialists in revenge of the ruthless blows dealt at them by the revolutionary fighters.

Our two peoples have the community of experience of suffering from the occupation regime and the puppet political system imposed upon them by foreigners, that can never exist without being propped up by imperialism and violence.

In Algeria, too, there have been fraudulent elections. The South Korean people are still experiencing the election farce, the "free" participation of the population in the elections under the truncheons and through the forced displacement of the population.

And, since the history of revolution is universal, we are convinced that the revolution will gain victory once again in South Korea as well as in South Vietnam and in all parts of Africa.

Availing myself of this occasion, I convey the support of the Algerian people for the just cause of the Korean people for the country's unification, who fought in uniform yesterday and are today fighting in civilian clothes, but always mobilized, for independence and unification of the country.

By speaking in the soldier's way, I am sure I will be better understood by the Korean people who fought yesterday in uniform and are today fighting in working clothes for achieving the complete independence and unification of the country through elections, peacefully and without foreign interference after the withdrawal of the U.S. troops.

The example of the general mobilization of the Korean people after the Panmunjom armistice is also followed in our country which is now independent. That is why the Algerian people are closely following the efforts of the fraternal Korean people for building a new society freed from the abominable exploitation and misery for good.

Why we have learned, what we have heard and what we have seen strengthen our sincere admirations for the vast achievements of the Korean people gained under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and Premier Kim Il Sung for the betterment of the material and cultural well being, for the preparation of a radiant future and for the preparation of the unification of their country.

For the Algerian people the achievements of the fraternal Korean peoples are not only a source of admiration but also, above all, are precious instruction and sure examples as to how to rehabilitate and reconstruct what has been war-destroyed.

We will return to Algeria with a firmer belief in the ideas and with a stronger confidence in what a great possibility the mobilized force of a people united in the ideas of progress and onward march can display. Such a forward march has brought the fraternal Korean people into the rank of major industrial powers of the world. We highly appreciate the historical verification of the necessity of an independent national economy and we regard it as a precious example.

The liberated Algerian people have resolutely embarked upon the path of building and developing a society free from exploitation and misery. Such development will pass the road of realizing an independent and industrialized economy.

War and victory against imperialism have brought together our two peoples, who are today going together in the struggle for the carrying out genuine revolution and for the achievement of a genuine peace in the world.

Long live the heroic peoples of Algeria and Korea!

U.S. imperialists, get out of South Korea!

Long live the unification of Korea.

## **F. RUNTURAMBI (Indonesia)**

**Heroic people of Pyongyang,**

On behalf of the Indonesian people I convey our revolutionary greetings to the heroic people of Korea, to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to our beloved leader Premier Kim Il Sung.

On this occasion when we are denouncing and fighting against the U.S. imperialist we also congratulate the victory of the heroic Korean people in your Fatherland Liberation War. It is a great pleasure for us as representative of the Indonesian people to be in your midst heroic citizens of Pyongyang. For all of this our gratitude.

**Dear friends,**

June 25 is a day in denouncing the U.S. aggressors in Korea. June 25 has become an international day for all fighting peoples including the Indonesian people.

Taking part in this mass rally held on June 25 we have the heroic Korean people in our minds. Because the Korean people is the epoch-making people under the guidance of the Marxist Leninist Party the Korean Workers' Party and our beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

**Beloved citizens of Pyongyang,**

June 25 has become a day of strengthening the international solidarity against the U.S. imperialists of all peoples throughout the world.

1. June 25 is a manifestation of the unlimited strength of a revolutionary struggle and international solidarity of the peoples against U.S. imperialism.
2. June 25 is an evidence of the powerful strength of the peoples for the inevitable victory of every revolutionary struggle of the people over imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialism.

It is you, beloved Korean people, that has encouraged us Indonesian people and all other fighting nations that the aggressive U.S. imperialism can and should be defeated through revolution and not by embracing imperialism and not to be feared by the U.S. imperialist intimidation.

Beloved citizens of Pyongyang,

Everywhere they set foot the U.S. imperialist causes political and economic trouble. But everywhere they appear the U.S. imperialist undergoes a heavy blow by the rising peoples. You have shown us that the U.S. imperialist strength can be crushed and must not be feared at all. The U.S. imperialist troops must be withdrawn or otherwise wiped out from Southern part of Korea.

Beloved heroic people of Korea,

You have also shown to the world that you are not only brave fighters in the armed struggle against the barbarous U.S. imperialism and their puppets government in southern part of Korea but you are also heroes in building up your national economy and in marching forward to a more higher stage of socialism under the banner of Chullima. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has succeeded in improving the industrial and agricultural production and increase the standard of living of the Korean people. The educational facilities have been enlarged and the productivity of the people is growing more and more. You have done this with the well-known spirit of Chullima with the great confidence in your own people's strength and the correct leadership of the Korean Workers' Party. Or when we use the language of the progressive economists as have been demonstrated in the Second Asian Economic Seminar in Pyongyang you have shown the world that it is possible to build the national economy on the basis of self-reliance.

Beloved citizens of Pyongyang,

It is good to know that the food and clothing problem have been solved sufficiently in Korea in raising the standard of living of the Korean people. But in the capitalist countries it is still an unsolved problem. In my country the Indonesian people are now struggling for their economic emancipation from the domination of foreign monopolies especially the U.S. imperialist. We are fighting against them and the abolishment of the feudal remnants in production relations in the countryside.

I can assure you time will come when Korea Today Indonesia tomorrow in building up the national economy.

Beloved citizens of Pyongyang,

There is no doubt that the Korean people will become more and more stronger in economic and political fields. The reunification of Korea is ensured. On this matter I can assure you that the Indonesian people will struggle side by side with you in defeating U.S. imperialism. The Indonesian people have noted the historical event when your representatives visited

Indonesia. They have concretely supported the struggle of the Indonesian people in crushing the neo-colonialist project Malaysia sponsored by British and American imperialists. The Indonesian people cannot find words how to express their great gratitude clearly for the willingness of your representatives and the Korean people to be volunteers together with the Indonesian volunteers in crushing U.S. imperialist and their allies. Once more we thank you heroic Korean people, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and our beloved leader Kim Il Sung.

It becomes more and more clear that your struggle for the reunification of Korea is also our struggle. Your victory in crushing the American imperialists is also our victory. Your success in building up socialism is also our success. We urge for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from the southern part of Korea.

Long live the heroic struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of Korea.

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Long live the Korean Workers' Party.

Long live our beloved Comrade Kim Il Sung.

## SINGAMA LUVILA (Congo (L))

Comrades,

Today fourteen years ago, the people of Korea were made an object of the vile aggression of the worst enemy of all peoples: American imperialism.

The soft murmurs of Kayakeum, the pure voices of your children, the creative labour of the peasants of Pyungduk or the workers of Kaesong—all this was damaged by the hordes of MacArthur, Ridgway, and Foster Dulles.

Under the hypocritical folds of the flag of the United Nations, pest and cholera, tears and sighs, sorrows and death obscured for a time the light of the calm morning of your country.

Brothers and sisters,

We imagine the wounds inflicted on your hearts.

Our dear Congo, too, is beset with the same scourage. Our Syngman Rhee and our Rim Byung Jik are called Adoula, Mobutu and Tshombe.

Under the same perfidious flag of the United States, our people are fettered by the same colonialist oppression of U.S. imperialism.

Comrades, at Panmunjom, imperialism believed in its haughty arrogance that they could bring the people of Korea to their knees.

It is also at Panmunjom that for the first time the eagle lowered its head!

Honour to your valiant People's Army and to the proletarian soldiers of the fraternal countries. Glory to the Workers' Party of Korea and its distinguished leader, great soldier and great comrade Marshal Kim Il Sung. Immortal glory to the innumerable heroes of your socialist fatherland, to those who, in the underground of Moran-bong Hill and on Height 1,211, preserved the culture, tempred their strength or poured fire!

Comrades, we owe all our lives to the heroes who are reposing on the sacred land of Korea, at Rakyun and Eunyool, at Booyu and Tajion.

The eyes which were gouged out from them are seeing through our eyes.

Their hands which were broken are raised high at the ends of our arms.

Their voices which were stopped are ringing out through our voices.

Comrades, like you the National Liberation Council of the Congo has taken up arms against the Yanks and their lackeys.

Together with you, the Congolese people will continue to sing the song which our heroes could not finish.

Master of Korea is the Korean people.

To make the U.S. troops withdraw from South Korea is today the most ardent desire of the Korean people.

In Seoul the popular masses led by the students are shouting their demands for the unification of the country to the Bak Jung Hi clique, braving the bullets and bayonets of the Yanks.

The only correct way of peaceful unification of Korea lies in unifying the country in accordance with the proposals advanced consistently by the Workers' Party of Korea and the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea since long ago.

Foreign powers must not interfere in the internal affairs of Korea!

The unification of Korea can be achieved neither in New York nor in Washington. The United Nations has no right whatsoever to interfere in the internal affair of the Korean people.

Down with American imperialism, the enemy of the peoples throughout the world.

American imperialists, get out of Korea.

Long live the united country Korea!

Long live the Workers' Party of Korea!

Long live Marshal Kim Il Sung! (in Korean)



## DACRUZ VIRIATO (Angola)

It is a great honour for us to have the opportunity of greeting the valiant Korean people and, at the same time, of expressing on this glorious soil the profound esteems and deep admiration that the people of Angola entertain for the Korean people and their eminent son: Marshal Kim Il Sung.

The crushing defeats suffered here, in this country of dawn, by the Japanese imperialists and, later, by the alliance of imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists inspired the people of Angola with a firm confidence that the day of freedom for the people is approaching nearer, while colonialism and imperialism are going to decay helplessly like a setting sun.

Here, in this land soaked with the blood and sweat of heroes, it has been made clear once again that no force in the world will be able to conquer a people who are united and have risen.

Here in this land so dear to all the peoples who have suffered and are still suffering under the yoke of exploiters, the imperialists ignominiously bit the dust and revealed themselves as a paper tiger.

Here, in this heroic country, humanity witnessed the irresistible power of the solidarity of the peace-loving peoples; the Chinese volunteers and the Korean patriots, side by side, arms in hand victoriously defended freedom and dignity, smashing slavery and humiliation to admiration.

Korean people,

Your glorious sacrifice was not in vain.

Following your encouraging example, the Asian peoples have already won great victories over the colonial domination and are pursuing, their unswerving fights against new colonialism and imperialism.

In effect, our success benefits us mutually. We—people of Angola and African peoples, Korean people and Asian peoples—have common enemies: the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists; and we have one common object to live and work with freedom, dignity and in peace. Tomorrow like yesterday, our unity and our solidarity will be the principal guarantee of victories.

Though imperialism is being weakened more and more, it continues to exist. It will never stop dominating and exploiting of its own accord. The mounting, courageous struggle of the South Korean people against U.S. occupation, is the most familiar proof of it.

The people of Angola, as well as all the freedom-loving peoples, ardently support the struggle of the South Korean people for their emancipation from U.S. occupation, for democracy and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

Friends,

It is with a great joy and with a sincere admiration that we congratulate the North Korean people for the brilliant work of reconstruction and for the exemplary achievements they have scored in the last ten years.

We know that your successes are owing to the fact that you have put an end to the imperialist domination and exploitation; that you have freed the creative energies and the genuine enthusiasm of the working masses, and that you know well how to apply the principle of liberation, the principle of relying, above all, upon your own forces.

It is owing to a just consecration of work and the intelligence of the Korean people that the Asian Economic Seminar held in Pyongyang has taken your experience of economic construction as a brilliant example of the way of building an independent national economy.

By the success achieved in building an independent national economy, the Korean people have also made an important contribution to the battle of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples against neo-colonialism and imperialism, and for the establishment of an independent economy. We wish the Korean people still greater success. That is why we support them in the struggle against their cruel enemy, U.S. troops from South Korea.

The occupation of South Korea by the U.S. troops presents a grave danger to peace in the Far East and in the world. The immediate and complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea will greatly facilitate the consolidation of world peace.

The South Korean people are thus fighting for the consolidation of peace in the Far East and the world.

Friends,

We would like, lastly, to express our wholehearted thanks to the Korean people for the support they continuously extend to the hard and courageous struggle of the people of Angola.

Relying above all upon their own forces and with the support of the African, Asian, and Latin American peoples and of all freedom-loving peoples, the people of Angola will certainly win victory!

We would like also to thank the Korean people for their generous hospitality and for their manifestations of veritable friendship.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of Angola and Korea!

Long live the valiant Korean people and their esteemed guide, Premier Kim Il Sung!

Long live the courageous struggle of the Korean people for their liberation from the U.S. rule, for democracy and the reunification of their fatherland Korea!

Down with colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism!

Korea to the Korean themselves!

U.S. troops, get out of South Korea!

## **APPEAL OF 19 AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

### **FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH KOREA AND SOUTH VIETNAM**

A great historical struggle is being waged by our brothers of South Korea and South Vietnam against the brazen, inhuman and barbarous aggression of U.S. imperialism for independence, democracy and peace. The news of this heroic struggle has penetrated all corners of the world. It justly aroused the indignation and wrath of all justice and freedom loving peoples particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In South Korea and South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are intensifying their unbridled suppression, murder and plunder. The fact that the United States of America spends everyday millions of U.S. dollars in South Korea and in South Vietnam on its machinery of aggression testifies to its unreasonable policy of going all out to enslave these peaceful people. The atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists in South Korea and South Vietnam surpass by far any atrocities committed against a people in a state of undeclared war.

Firmly standing together with all Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples and the peoples of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and old and neo-colonialism, we firmly give our determined and unreserved support to the people of South Korea in their just struggle particularly at present. We appeal to all African organizations, political parties and individuals, men and women to demand:—

- (a) The immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and personnel from South Korea.
- (b) The restoration of all democratic rights and full democratic freedoms of the South Korean people in all fields.
- (c) The realization of the peaceful unification of Korea by the Korean people themselves at free will, without any interference from outside.

Realising the full danger of U.S. imperialists insistence to continue the dirty war in South Vietnam, to intensify it by bringing in the aggressive blocks of SEATO and NATO and extend it to the northern part of

Vietnam, we appeal to all African organizations, political parties and individuals, men and women to demand:—

- (a) The immediate withdrawal of U.S. and other foreign troops and personnel from South Vietnam.
- (b) The immediate stopping of the war in South Vietnam.
- (c) That the Vietnamese people in the southern part of their motherland decide their own affairs without any interference in whatever form from outside; and the realization of the peaceful unification of Vietnam according to the wishes of its people.

We call on all freedom fighters in Africa and abroad to give their full support to these just demands and express their full solidarity with our brothers fighting against the most bitter enemy of all the peoples of the world—U.S. imperialism, in any form they see proper, according to their own situation, concrete circumstances and possibilities.

*Country*

ALGERIA  
ANGOLA  
BECHUANALAND  
CAMEROON  
CONGO (Br.)  
CONGO (L)  
GAMBIA  
GHANA  
KENYA  
MALI  
MOZAMBIQUE  
NIGER  
SOMALI  
S.W. AFRICA  
SUDAN  
RUANDA  
UGANDA  
ZANZIBAR

Signed in Pyongyang on 24 of June 1964.

## OTHER EVENTS

- June 15 13.00-14.10 — Premier Kim Il Sung receives Mme. Theja Gunawardhana, Chairman of the Asian Economic Seminar Committee.
- 19.30-22.00 — Art performance "Legend of Okryun Lake" at the Grand Theatre.
- June 16 19.30-21.30 — The Korean Committee for Promotion of International Trade and the Korean Committee for Asian-African Solidarity give a banquet in welcome of delegations to the Asian Economic Seminar (at the Pyongyang International Hotel).
- Screening of a Mali film (at the Pyongyang Hotel).
- June 17 19.30-22.00 — Music and dance performances by Pyongyang artists in welcome of delegates to the Asian Economic Seminar (at the Grand Theatre).
- June 18 Evening — The Charge d'Affaires of the VDR Embassy in Pyongyang gives a banquet in connection with the participation of delegations of the VDR and South Vietnam in the Asian Economic Seminar.
- June 19 19.30-21.00 — Art circle performances by children in Pyongyang in welcome of the delegates at the Pyongyang Pupils' and Children's Palace.
- June 20 Evening — Screening of the Film "Under the Banner of the Republic".
- June 21 — Rest at the recreation grounds in and around Pyongyang.
- June 22 17.45-18.20 — Screening of the Korean documentary film "For the Freedom and Independence of the Fatherland" for the delegates to the Asian Economic Seminar (at the Conference Hall of the Moranbong Theatre).

- June 23 18.00** — Comrade Kim Il Sung receives delegates to the Asian Economic Seminar (souvenir picture after reception).
- 1900** — The Cabinet of the Republic arranges a banquet for the delegations to the Asian Economic Seminar.
- \*Speeches at the banquet by Comrade Kim Il Sung, Premier of the Cabinet of the D.P.R.K., Mme. Theja Gunawardhana and Hon'ble S.B. Kouyate, head of the Mali Delegation.
- June 24 18.00-20.00** — The delegations are invited to a Pyongyang city mass rally marking the "Day for the Immediate Withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea" under chairmanship of Kim Wal Ryong, Chairman of the General Federation of Trade Union of Korea.